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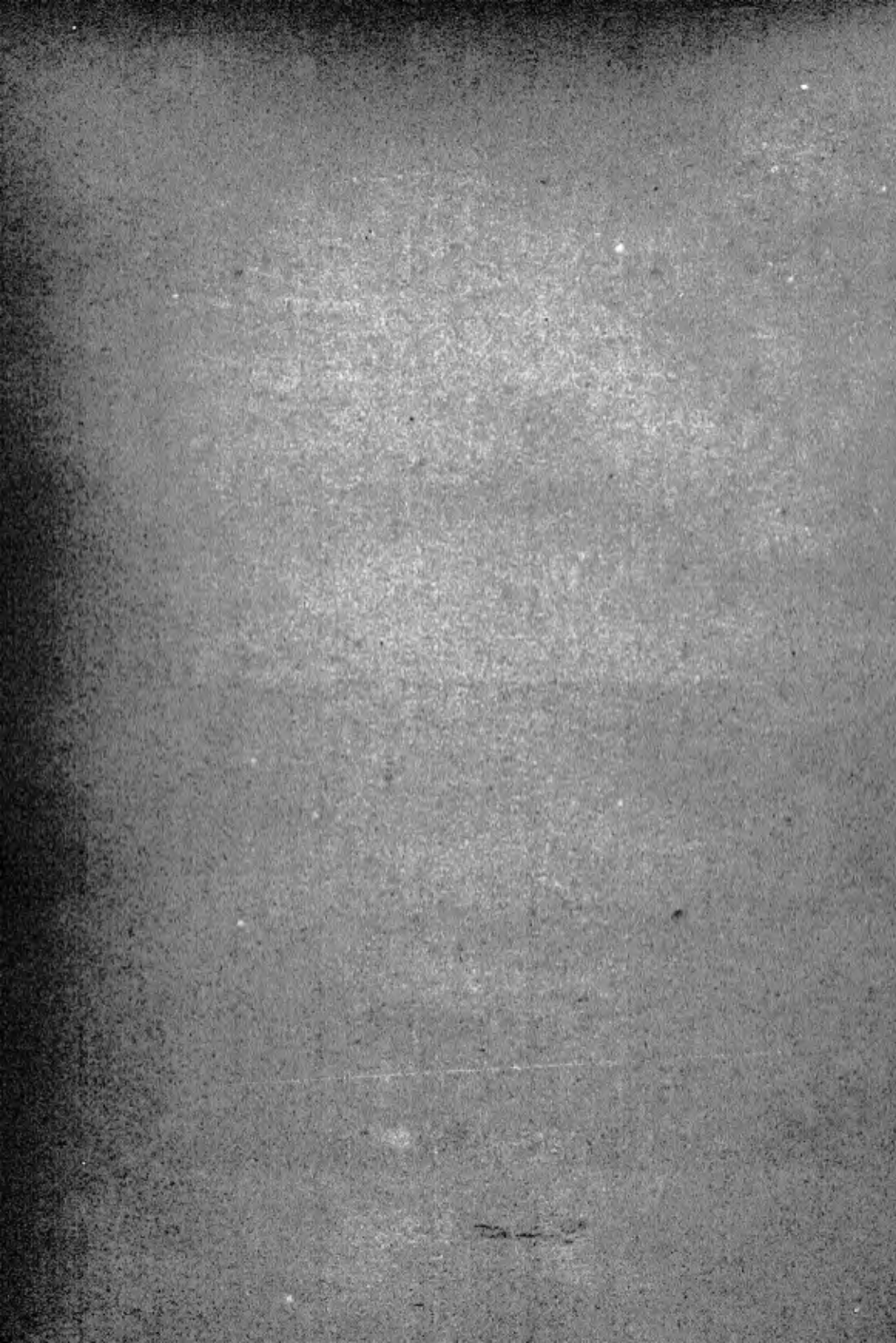
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THE SIAM SOCIETY.

(Founded 1904.)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring countries.

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Minister of the Interior.

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THE Society does not admit any responsibility on its part for the views expressed by the contributors individually. In transliteration each author has followed his own system.

THE OLDEST KNOWN WRITING IN SIAMESE

THE INSCRIPTION OF

PHRA RAM KHAMHENG OF SUKHOTHAI

1293 A.D.

BY

CORNELIUS BEACH BRADLEY, A.M.

Professor of Rhetoric in the University of California.

BANGKOK

1909.

THE author gratefully acknowledges his special indebtedness to:—H. R. R. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Minister of the Interior, for permission to use the resources of the Vajirañāna Library and to have free access to the Sūkho-thāi stone, and particularly for his invaluable personal assistance in the identification of places named in the text; to Oscar Frankfurter, Ph. D., Secretary of the National Library, for the generosity with which he has honored every draft made upon the stores of his learning and scholarship, and for his kindly interest, wise counsel, and unwearied helpfulness that have attended every stage of the work; to Phrā Māha Wicha Thām and Luang Chānthāramat, his learned assistants, for almost daily help rendered by them in all matters of Siamese philology and archeology; to Mr. R. W. Giblin, F.R.G.S. of the Royal Survey Department, for the reproductions of the text which accompany this paper; and in the North, to Chāu Suriyawong of Chiengmai, to Phrā Nāphi Siphisankhūn of Wat Chieng Mān, and, not least, to Rev. Daniel McGilvary, D.D., for elucidation of many difficult points involving special knowledge of the Lao country, customs, and speech.

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BOWRING, SIR JOHN : The Kingdom and People of Siam. London 1827. Vol. I. pp. 278—279. (A very brief notice accompanied by a specimen of the writing—an indifferent pen-sketch of the first few lines.)

BASTIAN, DR. A. : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. XXXIV. 1864. (The translation occupies pp. 7—12 of the reprint, which alone I have been able to see. It is really no translation, but a first sketch, in which the writer reports such impressions of the drift and import of the writing as he was able to get from Siamese sources.)

SCHMITT, PÈRE : Excursions et Reconnaissances, Vol. VIII. Saigon 1884. pp. 169—187, with 9 plates of the text—its first publication. (The text is neither a facsimile nor a tracing, nor a rendering of it by any method of accurate reproduction. What the author supposed to be found on the stone, and what he supplied from conjecture, are both set down alike in coarse black letters apparently drawn with a brush. Words still plainly to be read on the stone reappear strangely, or even absurdly, transformed. The translation, naturally repeats the errors of this transcript, with, of course, others of its own.)

SCHMITT, PÈRE : Deux Anciennes Inscriptions Siamois transcrits et traduites par M. Schmitt. Saigon 1885. (A little booklet apparently made up of reprints of the article just named, and of another from Vol. VII. of the same series).

PAVIE AUGUSTE : Mission Pavie, Indo-Chine, 1879—1895. Études Diverses II. Paris 1898. pp. 176—201. (Introductory Note, transliteration, translation, and text by the

author of the two preceding studies. It is in fact another edition of them, revised and altered somewhat, and with the text now in photographic reproduction. But for the scholar, the value of this text is very seriously diminished by the fact that it has everywhere been retouched, and that too, it would seem, without reference to the original, but to some inaccurate transcript—apparently the one twice published before. Similar changes of the text appear, and nearly all the lacunæ are written in so as to appear as text. Transliteration and translation are, of course, no more authentic than the text on which they are based—if it be not rather sometimes the case that the interpretation has determined the text.)

วิญญาน (Vajirañāna Magazine, Vol. VI. pp. 3574—3577. Bangkok 1898. A short article embodying in a freely modernized version nearly the whole of the fourth face of the inscription, including the dates, the story of the origination of Siamese writing, and the boundaries of the realm.)

สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ (Bangkok 1908. A pamphlet of 22 pages, prepared and printed for H. R. H. the Crown Prince, containing two inscriptions from Sūkhothāi and one from Khāmphæng Phēt. The first of these, the one with which we are here concerned, is the text in modern Siamese characters and spelling, with occasional substitution of modern words. Here also there is no indication of what portions are conjectural. But upon the whole, I find it the least inaccurate text so far produced.)

The Oldest Known Writing in Siamese.

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE SIAM SOCIETY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

I feel very sensibly the honor you have done me in asking me to present first of all before you some of the results of my months of study here. Those studies lie, as you all know, in the very heart of the Dryasdust realm, and are not supposed to be interesting, or intelligible even, to any save dryasdust people. I felt sure that no other sort of people would come here this evening. I confess therefore to no little surprise at the large and distinguished gathering that I see before me—surprise not unmingled with fear at thought of what you may be ready to do to me before the evening is done. My own impression of people who work on inscriptions has not greatly improved on closer acquaintance with them. My subject has one point of general interest, however, which I may do well to mention at once. The earliest known inscription in Siamese is a unique document, not merely among the documents of Siam, but among the documents of the world. If I am not entirely wrong, there is no other document extant which records the achievement of letters for an untamed speech by one to whom that speech was native, and which at the same time fully illustrates that achievement. When we recall the part these very letters of this very inscription have played in the culture and the life of the Thai race both north and south, and when we reflect that the very form in which we read and write Siamese today is the lineal descendant of that,—not far removed and but little changed,—we may be interested to know something more about it.

There is another point also. As your President has just told us, the inscription itself has repeatedly been published, with transliterations, translations, and essays upon it. Yet few things in Bangkok seem so little known, or understood, or rightly valued. Few even of those who know something about it have ever seen the stone, or know where it stands, or have any clear idea of what it is all about. In spite of all

that these various editors have done,—I am not sure but I should have said, in consequence of what they have done,—the real nature and intent of this perfectly direct and simple-hearted utterance seem at many points wholly misapprehended. One editor finds in it—apparently for no other cause than that it is now the thing to do—a complete code of civil law. Another finds in it a complete ritual of religious observance and ceremony. Another varies the now somewhat hackneyed performance of discovering the lost tribes of Israel, by unearthing, forsooth from the ruins of a forest-monastery,—or rather from the word *aranyic* which means ‘forest-monastery’—his long-lost Aryan brothers!¹ Setting all such notions aside, it has been my earnest endeavor to know the thing as it really is, and to understand as a native would, just what it says—its natural drift and import. The quest, begun in the interest of philology pure and simple, has proved of absorbing interest, has taken me far afield, has opened up unexpected realms of thought and of life. If it be then your will to accompany me a little way on this quest, let us begin.

THE STONE.

The stone is a short stumpy obelisk almost without taper, terminating above in a sort of low four-square dome. The material is a fine-grained compact rock not yet precisely determined, neither too hard for easy working, nor too soft to hold the inscription well under proper care. It stands 34 inches high above its mason-work pedestal; its faces are rough-hewn below, but above are worked to a smooth surface, forming an area for the inscription of about 14 inches by 23 on each side. In company with another stone from Sūkhothāi, of later date, it now occupies the westernmost but one of the row of little open Salas on the north side of the main temple-building of Wāt Phrā Kæo within the Royal Palace.

Of the earlier history of the stone absolutely nothing is known save what is said in the inscription itself, ll. 80—97. While the language there leaves something to be desired in the way of explicit connection of

¹ See Notes, ll. 51—52.

the various statements, it seems impossible to mistake its general import; namely, that this stone was one of four prepared at the same time, and—though this is not said—presumably of similar or identical content. The four were dedicated with imposing ceremonies religious and civic. Three of them were set up in separate places which are named ¹. The date was 1214 (Māhasākārat), equivalent to 1293 A.D. But the dynasty of Khūn Ram Khāmhang and the supremacy of Sūkhothāi were both shortlived. From that date not one word is heard of the stone for 540 years, that is until A.D.

1833, when it was discovered by Prince Chāu Fa Māha Mōngkūt, who afterwards became King Sōmdēt Phrā Chom Klāu. The story of its recovery is thus told by H. R. H. Prince Vājirāṇan.—“In the year 1195 he [the Prince] made a progress through the northern provinces, doing reverence at various shrines, until at last he reached Sūkhothāi. Here as he wandered about, he came upon a certain large flat slab of stone set in masonry on the terrace beside the ruins of an old palace. The stone was an object of reverence and fear to all the people. If any one failed to bow before it, or presumptuously walked up to it, he would be stricken with fever or other disease. When the Prince saw it, he walked straight up and sat down to rest upon it; and, because of the power of his good fortune, he suffered no harm whatsoever. On his return to the capital he had the stone brought down and set in masonry as a platform at Wat Rachathīwat. After his accession to the throne, he had it brought to Wāt Phrā Sri Rātānā Satsādaram (Wāt Phrā Kəo). He also secured a stone pillar inscribed in Khāmen letters, and one inscribed in ancient Siamese, both standing now in Wāt Phrā Sri Rātānā Satsādaram;—of wonderful import, as if presaging that he would be sovereign of Siam, a king of majesty, power, and goodness far-reaching, like the Phrā Bat Kāmāradeng At, . . . who was king in Sūkhothāi, as recorded in that inscribed stone.”²

¹ The practice of setting of identical monuments in different places is illustrated also in the case of the other Sūkhothai inscription, already referred to above as standing beside our stone in the Sala at Wat Phra Kəo. A duplicate of it—but in Siamese—has recently been discovered, and there is no reason yet to despair of finding one or more of the duplicates of our stone.

² Translated from ผนวธิย พรมราชประวัติ พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าแผ่นดิน ๔ รัชกาล pp. 306—308. The reference in the last sentence is to the other stone. I am quite at a loss to understand how it is, that the Siamese generally seem to value so highly Prince Kāmāradeng At and his Khāmen inscription.

Since then the stone has not been moved. But it is greatly to be desired that a safer and more fitting resting place be found for this the most precious record and monument so far discovered within the realm of Siam. In its present position it is far too much exposed to the weather, to accidents, and to rough handling by unscrupulous persons. During the weeks of the writer's work upon it there was a constant stream of all sorts of people passing almost within arm's length of it, and without the slightest barrier interposed. Its security so far is almost wholly due to the entire ignorance of nearly everybody regarding its real character and value. Not only should it be placed where it may be safe, but where it can be examined and studied under suitable illumination. As it now stands, the inscription is exposed to such confusing and almost blinding crosslights, that direct study of it is extremely difficult, and attempts to photograph it are almost hopeless. Moreover good plaster copies of it should be made without delay, to serve for all ordinary purposes of study and reference, and to insure against entire loss of so unique a document.

The stone has suffered somewhat from exposure, and much more from outrageous mishandling—the latter incurred, so far as one can judge, chiefly during its transportation from the north. It has apparently been dragged along bodily over rock or grit, or pried about with crowbars, so that most parts of its surface are disfigured by long lines or sweeps of scratches. Besides this there are some channels and small areas that have been excavated by drip of water. The edge at points has suffered a smooth abrasion, no doubt caused by its use as a whetstone for sharpening knives¹. There is abundant evidence also of such things as recent dripping of oil and melted candle-wax upon the stone, and of the application of various inks and other pigments to the surface, presumably in attempts to secure reproductions of the inscription. By such means some lines of the inscription have become entirely filled up, and cannot be made to appear in any "squeeze" or "rub." These

1 The recently discovered duplicate of the other Sukhothai stone referred to above, p. 4, has had one of its faces so entirely worn down by the same misuse, that nothing can now be made out of the writing which was once on it. As for rough usage in transportation, any one who has watched the handling of recent "finds," would simply stand aghast.

last, of course, are minor matters ; it is possible to clean the stone. Yet they serve to emphasize what has already been said about the need of stricter care. Still, in spite of all that it has suffered, the inscription is legible almost throughout. The letters were deeply incised at the start, and with patience and a good light, may often still be read, though the surface seems hopeless. The absolute losses are mostly of one or two letters out of a word, and these the context often enables one to supply beyond a peradventure. There are not more than twenty words completely lost from the whole inscription, and the restoration of a number of these is scarcely conjectural. In all this matter the recurrent or the aphoristic phrase, the metrical balance, the clue of rhyme—things dear to the elder Siamese speech—are often the surest guides out of the difficulty. (See further below pp. 18-20.)

THE WRITING.

“ Heretofore there were no strokes of Siamese writing. In 1205 of the era, Year of the Goat, Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhæng sought and desired in his heart, and put into use these strokes of Siamese writing. And so these strokes of Siamese writing are, because that Prince put them to use.” [Inscription, ll. 105-108.] Thus in phrase curt and rugged even to harshness, as if with suppressed emotion, is recorded what was by far the most important event of Prince Ram Khāmhæng's reign, or indeed of the whole period of Thai sovereignty. The Prince himself seems to have felt its importance, for he has reversed the historical order to give this achievement the place of honor at the end and climax of his story.

The general appearance of this earliest Siamese writing may be seen in the accompanying photographic reproduction of the text. A more detailed study of it can easily be made with the help of the Transliteration into modern Siamese characters. In mass it presents itself as a singularly bold, erect, open writing, four-square, with gently rounded corners, beautifully aligned, and closely too, but without any confusion resulting from superscript or subscript elements, or from letters which extend above or below the line ¹. Its look is therefore not unlike that

¹ Three letters only project at all above the line:— ๒, ๓, and ๔.

of a text of Greek uncials or of our own square capitals,—somewhat stiff, but singularly clear. The only drawback in this regard is the running together now and then of the contiguous strokes of different letters ¹. To the eye acquainted only with modern Siamese, this inscription seems at first quite as foreign as the Khāmen inscription which stands beside it in the court of Wāt Phrā Kæo. Closer scrutiny detects here and there a letter barely recognizable in its grotesque aldermanic breadth. And after the characters are all learned, their sequence is still a source of perplexity, being often quite different from that of modern Siamese ².

The particular writing from which these letters were adopted and adapted has not yet been identified. Its source. Their general character confirms the impression based on quite other grounds that it must have been South-Indian or Singhalese; that its immediate exemplars were doubtless the Pali religious texts; and that the efficient agents in the accomplishment of the Prince's scheme were Buddhist scholars like him who is mentioned in the inscription as one of the chief glories of the realm,—the Māhathen who “had studied the Pīḍōktrāi unto its end.”

The mere acquisition of the letters was, of course, the least part of the Prince's task. Much more difficult must have been the expansion of the meagre Indian vowel-list to meet the unusually large demands of Siamese speech ³.

¹ This occurs regularly in certain vowel combinations (where the result is really to make a new unit, as in the case of our diphthongs *æ* and *œ*); it occurs somewhat frequently in the case of an *ḍ* or a *ḷ* directly following a vertical stroke; but rather rarely in other consonantal combinations. This practice has entirely disappeared in standard modern Siamese; but it continued in the north throughout the whole of the period of the so-called Fak Kham letters, until those gave way at last to the modern round Lao writing.

² This is due chiefly to the fact that the vowels which now are written above or below the consonants that lead them in pronunciation, in this writing all stand in the line, and *precede* their consonants.

³ The inscription distinguishes thirteen simple vowels and eleven diphthongs as follows:—a) *ḍa*, *ḍa* with *ḍā* and *ḍān* (for *ḍān*), all symbols for short *a* in different combinations; *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi* (short *o*), *ḍi*, *ḍi* (for *ḍi*); and b) *ḍa*, *ḍa*, *ḍa* (for *ḍi*), *ḍa*; *ḍi* and *ḍi*, *ḍa*, *ḍa*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi* (for *ḍi*), *ḍi* and *ḍi* (for *ḍi*), in variant spellings of the same word. Modern Siamese writing distinguishes further the simple short vowels: *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*; and the diphthongs: *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*, *ḍi*.

Many of the devices adopted by the Prince to accomplish this end were not only illogical, but clumsy in the extreme; and there are many duplications among them. But since his time ~ and ^ are the only characters that have actually been added to the vowel list. A few unnecessary ɐ's have been dropped, but quite as many unnecessary ones have been added. The shift of a number of the vowel signs from the line to the space-above or below (see next paragraph) has caused some change in the order of letters in the syllable. But in the main, for its peculiar system of representing vowels and diphthongs, the Siamese of to-day must thank the Prince.

But the most original as well as the most interesting feature of his scheme of vowel-notation was his bringing Position in of all the vowel-signs into the written line along the line. with the consonants, and so practically into the alphabet itself. Inclusion of the vowels in the alphabet was a master stroke of the Greek genius, when once for all it adapted oriental letters to the needs of a new world of life and thought. It is that alone, for example, which has made possible for all western tongues the immense advantage of a perfectly fixed order of words in vocabularies and lists. The lack of such an absolute word-order is a difficulty and hindrance to scholarship more or less distinctly felt throughout the Eastern world, and everywhere for the same reason:—the vowels have no place in the alphabetical order. Prince Ram Khāmhæng, so far as we can learn, is the only man in all this interval who has come at all near to duplicating that old Grecian thought. But he did not carry his thought through to its logical conclusion. He did not give the vowels their place in the sequence of elements in the syllable, as he had given them their place in the line. Siamese scholars, unlike the Greek, were continually conning oriental scriptures. They thus kept ever alive the old tradition, and obscured the new. Very few years passed before the vowels which had been brought into the line were back in their old stations in the field¹. Thus it is that for Siamese of to-day, type that

1 There is quite a series of the Sukhothai inscriptions, following this of Prince Ram Khāmhæng; but in none of them, so far as I can ascertain, do the vowels retain their places in the line. I find it difficult to accept Père Schmitt's conclusion from this fact (*Mission Paris, II: 177*) that the reduction of the vowels to the line was no part of the Prince's scheme, but rather a mere variation introduced by the stone cutter who "a voulu faciliter par là son travail, et donner de la netteté à ses caractères." Such presumption in dealing with his master's pet invention is hardly to be expected on the part of a workman who might be sure that his meddling would not escape his master's scrutiny.

can be conveniently cast and set, and dictionaries where words may be easily and certainly found, seem as unattainable as ever.

It seems that the adjustment of the consonant-scheme should have been much easier; but it was much more clumsily accomplished, if the scheme in present Siamese is to be taken as the Prince's. The consonant sounds in present Siamese are only twenty-one in number; and though some changes have probably taken place in the six centuries which have elapsed, the total number then can hardly have been very different from what it is now. The Indian consonant letters were thirty-three—giving, let us say, twelve supernumeraries to be stricken off the list, or else to be used only in rendering Indian words. But there were the "tones" to be somehow indicated in writing.

The "tones." The easiest and most obvious plan would doubtless have been to indicate these directly by a series of accents. But those supernumerary letters seem to have led to the suggestion that they might somehow be used in indicating the "tones" of the vowels which follow them. To work out the suggestion completely by providing one letter of each sort for every tone, would require—if there were then as many tones as there are now in Siamese—no less than six times twenty-one, that is one hundred and twenty six letters. That being impossible, the compromise actually reached would seem to have been somewhat as follows:—1) One group of consonant-sounds, chiefly the non-aspirates and the aspirates, was actually provided with two letter symbols for each sound, the two letters indicating different tonal quality. The two parallel sets so formed were the so-called "high" and "low" letters. Each naturally gave its tone to the vowel which followed it. These two "inherent" tones were further susceptible of different modification by the use of two accent marks, the "ek" and the "tho," and also to some extent by final consonants; so that in the case of these letters all the required tones could be positively, though very clumsily, indicated. 2) A second group of sounds, mostly semi-vowels and nasals, was furnished with but one letter apiece, and that a "low" letter. To make good their deficiency, and to enable them to represent all of the required tones as well as their more favored companions could, it was arranged that whenever necessary one of the "high" letters should

stand beside them—silent of course—and so endue them with all the privileges and powers of the “high” class. 3) A third group, originally it would seem of no more than three or four, with all the functions of the “high” class except inherent tone, and not provided with any means of extending their powers, formed the so-called “middle” class.

The inheritors of this scheme, the Siamese and the Lao, both preserve to-day all of its essential features; but they differ considerably as to the constitution of two of the groups, namely the “high” and the “middle” letters. The difference concerns the five simple (unvoiced), non-aspirate stops which stand each at or near the head of its particular order of consonants: ɓ, ɗ, ɗ̥, ɗ̥̥, ɗ̥̥̥. In Siamese these are all “middle” letters, while in Lao they are all “high.” The question as to which more nearly represents the original scheme, can never be positively answered, because we can never recover the Sūkhothāi pronunciation. But the probabilities seem all on the side of the Lao. In the first place, the Lao certainly seems the more primitive in type, preserving many archaic features which the Siamese has lost. In the second place, its central geographical position and its compact area would both defend it, in some degree at least, from the external contact and pressure which the Siamese has not been able to escape. And further, when we consider that any mind capable of thinking out such a scheme at all would not have made it purposely confused and irrational from the start; and when we recall how surely the mere progress of time operates to confound “the best laid schemes,”—as for example it has confounded our once quite rational English spelling;—we should be inclined, I think, to count that the best representative of the old, which most clearly shows evidence of order and intelligent plan. This the Lao does in surprising degree, as may be seen on comparison of any one of the consonant series of the Indian alphabet—the guttural for example—with the corresponding series in Lao. Thus:—

	simple	surd	aspirate	simple	sonant	aspirate
Indian	k		kh	g		gh
corresponds to						
Lao	k		kh	k		gh
	simple		aspirate	simple		aspirate
		“high”			“low”	

That is,—The Lao, having no voiced sounds corresponding to *g* and *gh*, utilizes these letters as tonal variants of the unvoiced pair *k* and *kh* taken without change from the Indian alphabet. The same thing is done with the corresponding pair in each of the five series. And the first pair—simple and aspirate—are uniformly “high” letters, while the second pair are uniformly “low.” Thus without help of any accents beyond the original mai ek (ˊ) and mai tho (ˋ) of the inscription, a fuller scheme of tones than that of modern Siamese is provided for, without duplication of letters, without lack, and with fair balance of parts. Such symmetry and adaptation of means to ends surely is not the result of accident. If we make a similar comparison in the case of the Siamese, we find—

	simple	surd		aspirate		simple	sonant		aspirate
Indian	k			kh		g			gh
corresponds to									
Siamese	k			kh		kh			kh
	simple			aspirate		aspirate			aspirate
	"middle"			"high"		"low"			"low"

Two things, apparently, have happened to the Siamese version of the scheme:—1) No. 1 of each group has lost its power of indicating “high” tone, and has gone to swell the list of imperfectly equipped “middle” letters: and 2) No. 3 of each group has taken on aspiration, and thus merely duplicates No. 4.

An outcome such as this is perfectly intelligible and natural if the original were something like the Lao. But the Lao scheme could have hardly have been developed naturally from a scheme originally like that of present Siamese. And if our present twice, nay thrice, involved scheme of Siamese tonal notation—the dismay and confusion of all students,—together with the absurdly inflated consonantal alphabet which is part and parcel of it, were all really the work of Prince Ram Khāmhāng, it might well bear the palm among what Professor Whitney has called “devices of perverse ingenuity.”

As might have been expected, the working of the new scheme was not always sure. In the inscription a number of uncertain or variant spellings are

Spelling.

to be found, to say nothing of certain downright mistakes¹; but upon the whole the Prince seems to have been very well served by his scribes. Considering the difficulties encountered, this trial trip of the new writing was remarkably successful.

The Epilogue is almost certainly later than the rest of the inscription. It may even have been written after the death of the Prince, though it contains no reference to such an event. It evidently was inscribed by a different hand, and was cut by a different engraver. The strokes are finer, the letters are distinctly more slender, and some of them already approximate their present shape. But quite as convincing as any of these more obvious features is the evidence of dialectal variation in the speech itself. The vowel *^* has entirely disappeared from the writing. It is everywhere replaced by *^*, precisely as is still the case in the provinces of Phrae and Lakhawn, which directly adjoin the Sūkhothāi region on the north. For a further difference in thought and style, see p. 21.

The direct successor of the Sūkhothāi writing was, as has already been said, the Fāk Khām letters, so called because of the peculiar elliptical curve of the vertical strokes, recalling the curve of a tamarind-pod as it hangs on the tree. Early examples of this type from the Sūkhothāi region, no later than sixty or seventy years after our inscription, already exhibit its principal features:—superscript and subscript vowels, entire loss of the *^* vowel, more slender bodies of the letters, and a gradual approach to the modern type. For a time the Khāmén character seems to have been a formidable competitor, especially in the religious field. But the Fāk Khām finally won its way, at least throughout all the north, as is attested by numberless inscriptions reaching down to quite modern times. It finally gave way in that region to the

1. The very first line reveals uncertainty as to how an initial vowel should be rendered:—[^]นพท for อินทท. A very puzzling variation occurs ll. 51—53 and 63—66. in the spelling of a now famous word, อมรวินิมิต. These cases are all considered in the Notes. But the greatest uncertainty, or perhaps carelessness, is found in the use of the tonal accents, which are exchanged almost at random, or are omitted entirely. This last is equally true of the “tails” of the sibilants and of *f* and *p*: but this, of course, is a *lapsus manus* merely.

present round Lao writing, but at what date and from what source is still in question¹. Of its history in central and southern Siam I am not prepared to speak. But late northern Fāk Khām is already so nearly like southern Siamese of the 18th century, that there can be no doubt of their common relationship. From that time to this its course is a matter of common knowledge. The use of better surfaces and better instruments for writing, long practice, with resulting sureness and swiftness of stroke, have operated to lessen the stiffness, to reduce the more intricate turns, to diminish the aldermanic breadth of the original letters, and to give them the physiological slant. The modern Siamese written line—before type-writing and print had jostled it out of shape—was certainly more elegant, with its delightful clearness, its touch of feminine grace, its suggestion of accurate and fluent movement. But otherwise it differs not very greatly from that of Prince Ram Khămhæng.

THE LANGUAGE.

The total number of words used in this inscription is exactly 1500. The actual vocabulary, the total number of *different* words used, amounts to 404. This shows very fair scope and range for a document of this kind. A preliminary sorting of this vocabulary results as follows:—

1	Words recognized as of Indian origin	63
2	Words recognized as of Khămén origin	13
3	Proper names not Thái and not included above	11
4	Thái, native or effectively naturalized	317
Total		404

This analysis concerns the question of purity of diction. But purity, it must be remembered, depends very little upon the ultimate derivation of words, and very much upon the sense which they awaken in the cultivated hearer of nearness to or remoteness from the common speech. Therefore it is that no attempt has been made to distinguish here between Thái words and words

1. See a statement as to its origin, with a note thereon by the editor, in Phong-sawadan Yonok, p. 95.

effectively naturalized. To distinguish between them is moreover absolutely impossible in the absence of any early records of Thai speech¹. But the groups in the scheme above are not mutually exclusive. Eleven words of group 1 and six words of group 2 seem thoroughly naturalized. After making the necessary changes the result appears as follows:—

Apparently native or fully naturalized	334
Foreign or uncertain	70

The Thai element, that is, amounts to 83 per cent of the whole. Surprising as the figure is, it would have been higher yet, had the count been made as is usual in such cases; namely, a count, regardless of repetition, of all words as they actually occur in the text, instead of counting each word but once, as has been done here.

Almost equally surprising is the very small number of words in the Thai group that have dropped out of current Siamese during the six centuries that have elapsed. As I count them, I find but twenty-one that seem really obsolete, that is, a trifle over 6 per cent.

Of the dialectal color of the Sukhothai speech it is impossible to speak in percentages. Of the twenty-one Thai words accounted as not current now in Siamese speech, I have marked but six as known to me to exist in Lao. No doubt there are others as well, of whose use I am ignorant. To answer the question quantitatively, one would have to know also how many words out of this whole vocabulary are *not*—or rather *were not*—current in Lao. And even so, mere vocabulary does not by any means cover the whole ground of dialectal divergence, which consists quite

1. Since the matter is of some moment, it may be well to state the grounds on which words have been admitted to group 4. They are 1) Long domiciliation of the word and familiar use of it within the Thai area, especially if supported by evidence of the appearance of the word in the related dialects. 2) Use of the word in the metrical and linked phrases, or in the assonant or alliterative "jingles" peculiar to Thai speech, since these are almost invariably old or constructed out of native materials. 3) Appearance in the word of the peculiar Thai vowels or diphthongs. This last, of course, is conclusive only as *against* certain foreign origins. These same criteria have determined also the selection of certain words noted as native or naturalized from groups 1 and 2. The obvious criticism upon this method is that the question of purity is thereby judged by the nineteenth century instead of by the thirteenth. But the thirteenth century can no longer by any possibility be brought to sit in judgment on the case; and if it could, it is not likely that the result would be very different as concerns the overwhelming preponderance of the native element. Those who may care to review the case will find the complete lists at the end of the paper.

as much in special applications of the same words, and in tone, accent, and phrasing—matters as yet wholly beyond our reach. But there can be no doubt that to a cultivated Siamese the northern flavor of this speech is quite pronounced; while to a cultivated Lao who should hear it read aloud by one of his countrymen, it would probably seem very good Lao, only perhaps a trifle old-fashioned. That is, the standard Siamese speech of that day had not yet diverged very far from the ancestral type.

FORM AND STYLE.

As is wont to be the case with nearly all primitive attempts, the composition in its aim and intention is distinctly oral—is speech rather than writing. One striking outcome

The recurrent
pattern.

of this fact is the dominance everywhere of what may be termed the recurrent type or pattern of phrase. The type has been found to be effective; it is easier to remember and reproduce it, or to vary it if necessary, than it is to invent a new form specially adapted to the occasion¹. In its lowest form this dominance is seen in the wearisome repetition

Exact
repetition.

of identical details in various parts of the description of the city and its surroundings:—"groves of areca and betel, groves of cocoanut and lang," "images that are great, images that are beautiful; temples that are great, temples that are beautiful," and so on to the end of the chapter. More distinctly rhetorical is the constant grouping of items in pairs,

Balanced
and rhythmic
phrasing.

especially where the balance is regularly emphasized, and sonorous effect is secured, by repetition of the introductory word or words:—"pa'mak pa phlu" l. 36; "luk chau luk khūn" l. 25; baw mi ngōn baw mi thawng" ll. 29—30. "mi wīhan ān yāi, mi wīhan ān ram" l. 61. In all these cases the sequence is carefully attended to; so that each of the paired words stands last in its own phrase, and the phrase containing the more sonorous word shall stand last². From this it is

¹ This tendency is strikingly exemplified in the recurrent forms of ballad literature everywhere.

² Least sonorous of all is the word that ends with a stopped consonant *k*, *t*, or *p*. Of words otherwise equal the one with the long vowel, or the one whose vowel is followed by a sonorous nasal—*n*, *m*, or *ng*,—is given the final position.

but a step to the grouping of such pairs in extended rhetorical series, where pair balances pair, as item balances item, and with climactic effect:—"baw mi chang, baw mi ma, baw mi pua, baw mi nang, baw mi ngôn, baw mi thawng," ll. 29—30; "chau mæ, chau chău; thui pua, thui nang; luk chău, luk khun; thăng sŷn, thăng lai; thăng phu chai, phu yŷng," ll. 45—46. Such balance, either simple or complex, is found in almost every second line of the inscription. It is sometimes varied in rhythm, as the examples cited show; sometimes it is massed so as to fill a whole passage.

In primitive speech, the rhetorical effect of balance is scarcely more important than its mnemonic effect—the clue it affords the memory of speaker as well as of hearer. To a speaker a sonorous phrase, well-coined, is more valuable than a single word expressive of the same idea. The phrase has greater weight and momentum; it carries him, and his hearer too, more easily over gaps in his thought. If at all successful, it tends

Mnemonic
value.

to become habitual—a stereotyped commonplace phrase. Its meaning, moreover, runs a course of its own, with little reference to the meaning of its constituent parts, as we may see in such locutions as: "păi năi ma" (*Go where come*), or in its English equivalent "How do you do?", or in "Good bye." It is not always necessary that all the words of such a phrase should have now, or ever should have had, either independent or pertinent meaning. It is quite permissible in many languages to invent them outright, if only the result prove sufficiently "taking." In such cases, however, it is generally desirable to invoke the aid of balance, alliteration, or assonance. Thus we come at length to the "sôi khăm" as the

The "jingle." Siamese call it, or the "jingle" as we may term it. Examples are: "kha sūk kha sūa" *enemies* l. 31; or "sănūk sănan" *jolly*, and "năngsū năngħa" *books*, of modern Siamese;—or our own *riff-raff*, *picnic*, *bric-a-brac*.

Balance, assonance, and alliteration have already brought us to the confines of verse. Metre and rhyme differ from these in degree rather than in kind. Primitive speech, if at all formal, turns naturally to metrical form. Our inscription is no exception to this rule. The balanced series cited above are metrical as well. But

Metre and
rhyme.

there are other forms more elaborate and striking. 1) Most common, perhaps, is the short iambic verse of two feet only—a dipody, that is—of four words arranged in two balanced pairs. The pairs are coupled together at the point of junction by a caesural tie-rhyme, and the whole is expressive of a single generalized idea. Examples from the text are ;—"phrăi fa kha thăi," *Siamese subjects* l. 23 ; "chếp thawng khawng chăi," *distressed in mind* ll. 33—34 ; "phi nawng thawng diu," *own brothers and sisters* l. 2. Fourteen or fifteen of this species alone are to be found in the inscription. They abound everywhere in Siamese literature and speech. This seems indeed to be the fundamental pattern from which by variation are derived nearly all the other distinctly metrical forms which occur in Siamese prose.

2) One of these derived forms is simply an expansion of it by the insertion of identical words into the two members of the dipody. Thus in "khầu

phu lăk măk phu sawn," *shares with stealer, consorts with hider* ll. 26—27, the four accented words, khău—lăk—măk—sawn, represent the original framework of the dipody, while the relative phu is the added element. In the much longer "hên khău thăn baw khăi phin, hên sin thăn baw khăi dươt" ll. 27—28, the four accented words, khău—phin—sin—thăn, mark the simple pattern, with order and caesural tie-rhyme accurately kept ; while the added material has expanded the simple iambic dipody to three times its original dimensions. It makes now two anapaestic verses ; yet the tie-rhyme is not displaced. 3) A variation apparently simpler is produced by merely increasing the number of units, and building up thus a continuous stanza. A fine example occurs in ll.

18—19 :—

Năi năm mi pla,
Năi na mi khău ;
Chău mtiang baw ău,
Chă kawp năi phrăi.

Here the first couplet answers exactly to an expansion of the pattern : năm—pla—na—khău, as described above, with pla and na for the tie-rhyme between the first two verses. But at this point come in the intricate rules of rhyme in stanzaic verse. Khău determines not only the tie-rhyme which is to link the two couplets together (in khău—chău), but the end-rhyme (ău) of verse 3 as well. There are thus

two rhymes and five rhyming words in this short stanza. Had this been a stanza of a continuous poem, there should have been two rhymes more to link it with the stanzas preceding and following.

It is scarcely necessary to remark how well these terse, balanced, and metrical forms serve the purposes of proverbial and aphoristic utterance, the pithy maxims of policy and of life. The reputed sayings of King Alfred and of Phrā Ruāṅ are here alike in point. Their form not merely makes them more impressive, but makes it possible to remember and repeat them. There is little doubt that the three examples last cited were actually quoted by the Prince from a mass of current "saws" concerning the methods and results of just government ¹.

Contrary to what might be expected, these poetic forms are no unwarranted invasion of the realm of prose. Like any other poetic quotation or allusion, they serve rather to mark very naturally elevation of thought, the touch of lyric feeling, a glimpse of the ideal. This function is finely shown in a passage already cited, (ll. 18—19) which begins the sketch of a happy and prosperous realm under a kind and just government; and again in the Epilogue, where, as we pause to take our last look at the Prince, it seems as though he were already a memory in the hearts of his people. The stately, measured words in which are summed up the aims of his life read like an echo of the closing verses of the Book of Deuteronomy.

If we pass from form to content, the most striking feature of the diction is, no doubt, its concreteness, its objectivity. Everything touched upon is visualized—is realized in terms of space, action, and motion. This is true even of the lyric passages of which we have been speaking. But it is much more true when the Prince's thought is free to range at will. Then it is ever "this city of Sūkhothāi," "this grove of palm trees," "this stone slab," "the bell hung up there,"

¹ Since the above was written there has come unexpected confirmation of this statement. In looking casually over some fragments of inscriptions which arrived a few days ago at the Royal Library, I was surprised and pleased to light upon the precise duplicate of the second of the three referred to, the one found in ll. 27—28.

"the forest-monastery yonder." The demonstratives, in fact, seem to be the most hard-worked word sin his whole vocabulary. It is the same when he recalls the battle so narrowly retrieved, in which, as a mere stripling, he won his spurs and his name. He there sees the movements as "to left" and "to right." He sees the soldiers "flee, beaten and cowering." The elephants are "driven." The lad "urges his way into the fight ahead of his father." It is "a thrust of a weapon hurled" that disables the opposing elephant and turns the tide of battle. It is the same when he recounts the glories of his capital city. There are, of course, the noble temple grounds and buildings, the palace, the market place, the "groves of tamarind and mango, fair as if made to look at." But his real interest is in the moving spectacles, in scenes of thronging human life and motion—the imposing ceremonies at the consecration of the inscribed stones, and at the taking of the oath of fealty; the illuminations and fireworks "when the Prince burns candles, when he plays with fire;" the great city gates when stormed by the tremendous rush of people surging through to see the spectacle. And in the midst of all, that inimitable touch revealing the very heart of an artist and poet,—that "gushing rock-spring of water as clear and as good to drink of as is the Khong in the dry season"¹.

THE MAN.

The most interesting thing in the whole writing is the man himself, Prince Khūn Ram Khămhang. The inscription commemorates his reign. He himself is the speaker, at least throughout the body of the document. The perspective is that of a man of large and generous nature looking back with not unreasonable satisfaction over a long and strenuous career. In it he has risen from being the youngest son of a petty feudal chieftain—as we gather from the atmosphere and background of the opening scenes—to a point where he challenges the allegiance of the whole Thái race (ll. 99—100). His territory, at first not stretching further than twenty miles from his

¹ The Me Khong is fed by melting snows on the slopes north of the Himalaya. When its spring flood is over, I am told that it runs clear and cold. But in such a matter I should be quite willing to take the word of a man with eyes and heart like those of the Prince. Only one who had seen and tasted and felt could have spoken so.

father's stronghold, includes at last an area quite comparable in extent to that held by Siam today, and not greatly different from that ¹. Had this been all, he would not command from us more attention than we give to many another bold adventurer who has done as much or more. But of his battles and campaigns—which no doubt were many—there is no parade whatever. If the Epilogue be the work of another hand, as indeed seems likely, there is no mention of them at all in the Prince's writing, save in that one opening scene wherein he slyly laughs at his own boyish presumption and lack of decorum. Whoever wrote the Epilogue, the ambition there ascribed to him "to become lord and ruler unto all the Thāi" was undoubtedly his. But it was coupled with the nobler ambition "to become preceptor and instructor to teach all the Thāi to know true righteousness," "to plant and rear the host of the sons of his city and realm to be in accord with righteousness, every one."

This capacity for a noble idealism is everywhere apparent throughout this all too brief writing. It is seen in the Prince's choice of the things he deems most memorable in all his reign:—the invention of writing; the solemn reverence paid by him and by his people to the sacred relics—symbols of the best and the highest they knew in human life and character; and the consecration and setting up of the inscribed stones which were to record in Siamese words the achievement of a united Siam. It is seen in the love of justice and the passion for righteousness which everywhere flash forth from the writing. It is seen in his unaffected delight in the prosperity of his realm, the piety and the happiness of his people. It is

¹ Phitsanulok, distant about twenty miles from Sukhothai to the south-east, is named in the list of places added by the Prince to his realm. The fact that the name of Si Sachanalai, at about the same distance to the north, does not appear as part of the Prince's style and title until we find ourselves among the later events of his reign, leads us to count it also as a city that he had recently won. Tak, at a little greater distance to the west, seems to have been contested ground at the opening of the story.

In comparison with Siam of today, the Prince's territory in its northern portion was considerably larger, reaching as it did from beyond the Me Khong (ll. 115—116) to Pegu and the ocean (l. 120), and including the valley of the U, the great northern affluent of the Khong (l. 100). At the same time, it did not include the Chiangmai-Chiangrai area, which at this time was dominated by the picturesque and famous Meng Rai, who founded Chiangmai in 1296 A. D., only three years later than our date. In the Menam delta, the list includes nothing to the east and south-east of the Phitsanulok-Nakhawnsawap-Suphan-Thachin line,—nothing, that is, to the east of the western delta-stream. The omission of Lawo (Lophburi) is also significant. The forces which brought about the supremacy of Ayuthia, and with it the downfall of Sukhothai, were, no doubt already at work, though the city of Ayuthia was not founded until sixty years later; that is, in 1350 A.D.

seen in the loving pride with which he regards his scholarly Māhathen, "who had studied the Tripitaka unto its end." It is this capacity for a noble idealism, together with the enthusiasms inseparable from it, which constitute the Prince's real claim to distinction—a claim which I feel sure no one who reads the record will disallow. We need not enquire how far the actual performance fell short of the inward vision. Fall short it must. But to have known and loved the Highest, and with all one's heart to have striven to establish that Highest in the world, is distinction high enough for any man.—Indeed there is no higher.

But I detain you too long among these preliminaries. Let us hear the Prince himself.

TRANSLATION.

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NOTE:—Small figures indicate the number of the line in both Text and Transliteration. In romanized words all unmarked vowels are long—a departure from the regular philological practice necessitated by the exigencies of the press. Square brackets include words whose status is in considerable doubt, whether as regards text or syntax or rendering. Round brackets enclose words added in explanation of terms.

—

My father's name was Si Inthārathīt. My mother's name was Lady Süāng. My elder brother's name was Ban Müāng (Warden of the Realm). ² We, elder and younger born from the same womb were five; brothers three, sisters two. My elder brother ³ who was first, died and left me while yet little. When I grew up reaching ⁴ nineteen rice-harvests, Khūn Sam Chōn (Prince of Three Peoples), lord of Müāng Chawt, came to Müāng Tak. My father went to fight ⁵ Khūn Sam Chōn by the right. Khūn Sam Chōn pressed on to meet him by the left. Khūn Sam ⁶ Chōn charged in force. My father's people fled in haste, broken and scattered. ⁷ I fled not. I bestrode the elephant Nēkā Phōn (Host of Warriors). I urged him into the mêlée in front of my father. I engaged ⁸ Khūn Sam Chōn in elephant-duel. I myself thrust Khūn Sam Chōn's elephant—the one called ⁹ Mat Müāng (Kingdom's Treasure) so that he was worsted. Khūn Sam Chōn was vanquished, fled. My father therefore raised my name ¹⁰ to the title Phrā Ram Khāmhaeng, because I thrust Khūn Sam Chōn's elephant.

During ¹¹ my father's time I was support and stay unto my father; I was support and stay unto my mother. If I got the body ¹² of a deer or the body of a fish, I brought it to my father. If I got any fruit, tart or sweet, ¹³ that I ate and relished, ate and found good, I brought it to my father. If I went ¹⁴ to hunt elephants, and got them, I brought them to my father. If I went to hamlets or ¹⁵ towns, and got elephants, got elephant's trunks, got slaves, got damsels, got silver, got gold, I brought ¹⁶ and left them with my father. My father died. I continued to be support and stay unto my brother ¹⁷ just as I had been unto

my father. My brother died. So I got the realm entire to myself.

¹⁸ During the time of Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhæng thi^s realm of Sūkhothāi has prospered. In the
 His prosperous reign. water¹⁹ are fish, in the field is rice. The lord of the realm takes them not. He would invest them in his people. Along the highways people²⁰ lead cattle to trade, ride horses to sell. Whoever wishes to deal in elephants, deals; whoever²¹ wishes to deal in horses, deals; whoever wishes to deal in silver, in gold, deals. Among common folk of the realm,²² among lords or nobles, if any one soever dies or disappears from house and home, the Prince trusts,²³ supports, aids. They are always getting children and wives, are always growing rice, [these] folk of the realm, subjects of the Thai. Their groves of²⁴ areca, their groves of betel, the Prince trusts wholly to them to keep for their own children. If people of the realm,²⁵ if lords or nobles do wrong, fall out, are at enmity with each other, he makes inquisition, gets at the²⁶ truth, and then decides the case for his subjects righteously, 'shares not with stealer, consorts not with²⁷ hider,'; 'sees another's goods and covets not, sees another's wealth and rages not'.²⁸ Whoever comes riding his elephant to visit the city, comes to the moat and waits beside it for²⁹ me. Has he no elephants, no horses, no slaves, no damsels, no silver,³⁰ no gold, I give to him. Has he wealth to found towns and cities,³¹ to be foes and enemies, to be strongholds for war and fighting, I kill not nor smite him. ³² In the entering in of the gate is a bell hung up there. If folk aggrieved³³ within town or city have controversies or matters that distress them within and ³⁴ cramp their hearts, which they would declare unto their lord and prince,—there is no difficulty. Go ring the³⁵ bell which he has hung up there. Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhæng, lord of the realm, can³⁶ hear the call. When he has made investigation, he sifts the case for them according to right.

Justice.

Generous treatment of visitors.

Appeal to the Prince.

Thus it is that in³⁷ this city of Sūkhothāi the people are everywhere establishing plantations of areca and betel throughout the city. ³⁸ Cocoanut groves and groves of lang are ³⁹ plenty in

The capital city.

this city. Mangoes and tamarinds are ⁴⁰ plenty in this city. Whoever plants them has them secure to himself. ⁴¹ [Within] this city of Sūkhothāi there is a gushing rock-spring of water as clear in color and as good to drink of ⁴² as is the water of the Khong in the dry season. Around this city of Sūkhothāi [the circuit] ⁴³ reaches to three thousand four hundred fathoms.

People in this city of Sūkhothāi ⁴⁴ are given to alms, are given to observing the precepts, are given to making offerings. Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhaeng, ⁴⁵ lord of this realm of Sūkhothāi, with the matrons and nobles of the city, their retainers of servants and maidens, ⁴⁶ the gentry one and all, both male and female, ⁴⁷ and the mass of common folk, have reverence for the teaching of Buddha. Every one of them keeps the precepts during ⁴⁸ Wasa (Buddhist Lent). When Wasa is over, there are the offerings of Khāthīn for a month before they ⁴⁹ are ended. In these presentations there are all sorts of money, all sorts of fruits, ⁵⁰ all sorts of flowers; there are cushions for sitting and cushions for reclining to accompany the yellow robes ⁵¹ offered year by year; and they take with them lan leaves to designate the recipients of the Khāthīn, going even unto the ⁵² forest-monastery yonder. When they would return into the city, they stretch in line from the forest-monastery ⁵³ yonder unto Huā Lan Dām, making the air resound with the sound of timbrels and lutes, ⁵⁴ the sound of carolling and singing. Whoever likes to sport, sports; whoever ⁵⁵ likes to laugh, laughs; whoever likes to sing, sings.

This city ⁵⁶ of Sūkhothāi has four gates exceeding great. The people throng and press each other fearfully there, when they ⁵⁷ come in to see him (the Prince) burn candles, to see him play with fire within this city of Sūkhothāi. ⁵⁸ In the midst of this city of Sūkhothāi there are temple-buildings, there are ⁵⁹ bronze images of Buddha;—there is one eighteen cubits high. There are images of Buddha ⁶⁰ that are great, there are images that are ⁶¹ beautiful. There are temples that are great, there are temples that are beautiful. There are reverend ⁶² teachers, there is . . . , there are venerable monks; there is a Māhathēn (Arch-priest). Toward sunset ⁶³ from this city of Sūkhothāi is a forest-monastery. Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhaeng made of it ⁶⁴ an

Objects of
interest.

offering unto Phră Măhathen, the Arch-priest, the scholar who studied the Tripitākā unto its end, ⁶⁵ the head of his order, and above every other teacher in this realm. He came here from ⁶⁶ Sithāmmārat. In the midst of that forest-monastery is a temple-building that is ⁶⁷ large, lofty, and exceeding fair. It has an eighteen-cubit image standing erect. ⁶⁸ Toward sunrise from this city of Sūkhothāi there are temples with venerable teachers. ⁶⁹ There is a great lake; there are groves of areca and betel, there are plantations and fields, there is inhabited country ⁷⁰ with villages great and small, there are groves of mango and tamarind, as lovely as if made only to be looked at. ⁷¹ Towards bed's-foot (north) from this city of Sūkhothāi there is a [public] market place, ⁷² there is a Phră āchănă, there is a royal palace, there are groves of cocoanut and ⁷³ lang, there are plantations and fields, there is inhabited country with villages great and small. Toward ⁷⁴ bed's head (south) from this city of Sūkhothāi there are monk's cells, and a temple with venerable teachers ⁷⁵ dwelling there. There is Sridāphongs there are groves of cocoanut and lang, of mango and tamarind; ⁷⁶ there are upland waters. In yonder mountain is a demon-spirit, Phră Khăphūng, that ⁷⁷ is greater than every other spirit in this realm. If any Prince ruling this realm ⁷⁸ of Sūkhothāi reverences him well with proper offerings, this realm stands firm, this realm ⁷⁹ prospers. If the spirit be not revered well, if the offerings be not right, the spirit in the mountain does not protect, does not ⁸⁰ regard;—this realm perishes.

In 1214 of the era, year of the Great Dragon, Prince Khūn Ram ⁸¹ Khămhang, lord of this realm of Si Săchānalāi-Sūkhothāi, [having] planted this grove of palm trees ⁸² fourteen rice-harvests [before], caused workmen to hew slabs of stone and to set them up in the open space ⁸³ in the center of this palm grove. From the day when the moon was quenched and reappeared, for eight days, ⁸⁴ and from the day when the moon filled out her orb, for eight days [more], a company of venerable teachers, reverend priests, with the Arch-priest, ⁸⁵ went up and sat above the slabs of stone, intoning the Law unto the laity and to the multitude ⁸⁶ of people who were observing the precepts. If it were not a day for reciting the Law, Prince Khūn Ram Khămhang, ⁸⁷ lord of this realm of Si Săchānalāi-Sūkhothāi, went up

The inscribed
stones.

and sat above the slabs ⁸⁸ of stone, and had the mass of lords, of nobles, and of soldiers pledge themselves together unto home ⁸⁹ and realm. On the days of new and of full moon, he had the white elephant named Ruchasi arrayed ⁹⁰ with trappings and housings all of gold and ivory right and ⁹¹ Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhaeng mounted and rode forth, to worship the Buddha [in the forest]-monastery, and ⁹² came [again]. One
Their location. inscription is in Mǔāng Chǎiāng, built into the (pagoda) ⁹³ Phrā Sri Rātānāthat. One inscription is in a cave called the cave ⁹⁴ of [Phrā R]am, situate on the bank of the stream Sāmphai. One inscription is in the cave ⁹⁵ [Rātānā]than (Sparkling Brook). In the midst of this palm grove are two Salas: one called ⁹⁶ Sala Phrā Mat (of the Golden Buddha), one called Phuttha B This stone slab, named ⁹⁷ Mānāng Sīla Batrā (Thought lodged in Stone), is set here that all may see [that] ⁹⁸ Prince Khūn Phrā Ram Khāmhaeng, son of Prince Khūn Sī Inthārathit, is ⁹⁹ lord in this realm of Sī Sāchānalāi-Sūkhothāi, alike over Ma, Kao, Lao, ¹⁰⁰ and Thāi of regions under the firmament of heaven, Thāi dwelling on the U, dwelling on the Khong.

When was ¹⁰¹ reached 1209 of the era, year of the Hog, he had the sacred relics exhumed that all ¹⁰²
The sacred relics. might see. He made solemn sacrifice in reverence to the relics for a month and six days; and then ¹⁰³ interred them in the heart of the city Sī Sāchānalāi, and built over them ¹⁰⁴ a pagoda, six rice-harvests until it was done. And he built a stone wall about the sacred ¹⁰⁵ relics, three rice harvests till it was done.

Heretofore these strokes of Siamese writing were not. ¹⁰⁶
The first Siamese writing. In 1205 of the era, year of the Goat, Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhaeng sought and desired ¹⁰⁷ in his heart, and put into use these strokes of Siamese writing. And so there are these strokes of Siamese writing because ¹⁰⁸ that Prince [put them to use.]

That Khūn Phrā Ram Khāmhaeng sought ¹⁰⁹ to be ruler and lord unto all the Thāi;—sought to be ¹¹⁰ preceptor and instructor to teach all the Thāi to know
Epilogue. ¹¹¹ true virtue and righteousness. Among men that live in the realm of the Thai, for ¹¹² knowledge and insight, for bravery and daring, for energy ¹¹³ and force, there cannot be found a man to equal him—able to subdue hosts of ¹¹⁴ enemies with

cities wide and elephants many. Eastward he conquered and secured to his realm ¹¹⁵ Să : Luang (Phichít), Sawng Khwæ (Phitsānūlok), Lămbachăi, Săkha, up to the banks of the Khong ¹¹⁶ and on to Wiăng Chăn and Wiăng Khăm. Southward ¹¹⁷ he won the men of Phră Bang, (Nakhawnsăwăn) Phræk (Săngkhăburi), Suphănăphum, ¹¹⁸ Rachăburi, Phěchăburi, Sithămmărat, and the shore of the ¹¹⁹ ocean sea. Westward he won Mŭăng Chawt, ¹²⁰ Mŭăng Hôngsawădi (Pegu), with the ocean for ¹²¹ boundary. Northward he won Mŭăng Phlæ, Mŭăng Man, ¹²² Mŭăng, Mŭăng Phluă, and beyond the banks of the Khong, ¹²³ Mŭăng Chăwa (Luăng Phrăbang), securing them to his realm. He planted and nurtured a host of sons of his city ¹²⁴ and realm to be in accord with righteousness every one.

Ladies and gentlemen :—I think you will agree with me that we have here something far more valuable and important than a unique philological document, however important a document of that kind it may be. We have something more important than a unique historical document, which undoubtedly it is. We have here what some one has called a 'human document' of uncommon richness and power. We have a glimpse of the heart and the ideals of a man. The heart was one that could conceive, and the hand was one that for his brief day could bring to some realization that ideal toward which we all are still yearning— a Siam united, free, and good.

TRANSLITERATION

INTO MODERN SIAMESE CHARACTERS.

NOTE.—This transliteration follows the text of the stone line for line and letter for letter, save only that the subscript and superscript vowels of modern Siamese type cannot be made to stand in line along with the consonants, as they do in the text. All letters or words that cannot be fairly made out on the stone, and that are therefore supplied conjecturally, are placed within brackets. The reader should not be disturbed by the unexpected position of certain elements in the sequence of the syllable. The sequence given is that of the text, and not that of modern Siamese spelling. The complete scheme of the Sukhothai syllabary as found in this writing is as follows :—

- 1 ก กา ก[ิ] ก[ึ] ก[ุ] , ก[ุ] , ก[ุ] เก แก ไก ไก ไก เกา ก[ิ] and
กา กะ
- 2 กง กง for กัง กาง ก[ิ] ก[ึ] ก[ุ] ก[ุ] ก[ุ] เกง แกง โกง
กอง กวง กยง for เกียง ก[ิ]เอง and ก[ิ]เอง for เกียง ก[ิ]เอง and
ก[ิ]เอง for เกิง
- 3 กาย กาว แกว ไกย กอຍ กวย กยว for เกียว ก[ิ]กย for เกีย
ก[ิ]เอย for เกือ เกอ กว for กัว กรม for กรม ก for กอ ก[ิ] for กือ

FIRST FACE.

- 1 พ[ุ] , ก[ิ] ช[ิ] ส[ิ] นท[ิ] ท[ิ]ย แม่ , ก[ิ] ช[ิ] นาง ส[ิ]อง พ[ุ] , ก[ิ] ช[ิ] นาน[ิ]เมอง
- 2 , ต[ิ] พ[ุ] นอง ท้อง ดยว ห้า คน , ผู้ชาย สาม , ผู้หญิง สอง พ[ุ] , เสอ
อ , ผู้ชายตาย จาก เสอ ดยม แอ[ุ] นงง เดก[ิ] เมอ[ุ] , ก[ิ] ช[ิ]น[ิ] ใหญ่ ได้
- 4 ส[ิ]บ แก[ิ] เข้า , ชน สาม ชนเจ้า[ิ] เมอง ขอ[ิ]มา ที่[ิ] เมอง ตาก พ[ุ] , ก[ิ] ไม่ รบ
ชน สาม ชน หว[ุ] ช้าย , ชน สาม ชน ชนบ[ิ] มา หว[ุ] ชว[ุ] , ชน สาม
- 6 ชน[ิ] เกอ[ิ]น เข้า ไฟ[ุ]ร[ุ] ผ้า[ุ] หน้า[ุ] ใส่ พ[ุ] , ก[ิ] หน[ุ] น[ุ]ญาย[ุ] พาย[ุ] จ[ุ]แจ
() ก[ิ] บ[ิ] หน[ุ] , ก[ิ] ช[ิ] ช้าง เนก พ[ุ] , ก[ิ] ชนบ[ิ] เข้า ก่อน พ[ุ] , ก[ิ] ก[ิ] ฏ

- 8 (ข้า)ง ด้วย ชน ล่าม ชน คน กู พง ช้าง ชน ล่าม ชน ควว ชี
 มาส เมือง แพ้ ชน ล่าม ชน พ่าย หน พัก จัง ชน ชี ก
 10 ชี พระรามคแหง โพธิ์ ก พง ช้าง ชน ล่าม ชน เมื่อ
 อ ชั่ว พัก ก บิเรอ แก่ พัก ก บิเรอ แก่ แม่ ก ก ได้ คว
 12 ให้ออ คว ปลา ก เขา มา แก่ พัก ก ก ได้ หมด ถ หมด หว
 น อนน ไต กน อร่อย กน ต ก เขา มา แก่ พัก ก ก ไป ต
 14 หนง วง ช้าง ได้ ก เขา มา แก่ พัก ก ก ไป ที่ บ้าน ที่ เม
 อง ได้ ช้าง ได้ งวง ได้ ปวด ได้ นาง ได้ ใจน ได้ ทอง ก เขา
 16 มา เวณ แก่ พัก ก พัก ก ตาย ญง พัก ก พัก ก บิเรอ แก่ พัก
 ก ญง บิเรอ แก่ พัก ก พัก ก ตาย จัง ได้ เมือง แก่ ก ทง
 18 (ก)ถ ให้ออ ชั่ว พัก ชน รามคแหง เมือง ชกโชไท นิด ใน น้ำ
 (ม)ปลา ใน น้ำ ม เขา เจ้า เมือง บิ เขา จ กอบ ใน ไพร่ ถ ทาง แพ
 20 (อ)น จอง ควไป คำ ชี ม้าไป ชายใคร จกใคร คำ ช้าง คำ ไต(ร)
 จกใคร คำ ม้า คำ ใคร จกใคร คำ ใจน คำ ทอง คำ ไพร่ ผ้า หน้า ได้
 22 ถก เจ้า ถก ชน ฝั ไต ถัก ตาย หาย กว่า อัยว (ร)น พัก ให้ออ
 ให้ออ คำ มน ช้าง ช ถัก มย ยัย เข้า ไพร่ ผ้า ชี ไท บ้า
 24 หมด บ้า พก พัก ให้ออ มน ไร่ แก่ ถก มน ไร่ ไพร่ ผ้า
 ถก เจ้า ถก ชน ฝั ถัก ถก ถก ถัก ถัก ถัก ถัก ถัก ถัก ถัก ถัก
 26 แก่ ถัก จัง ถัก ความ (ก)ก ชี ด้วย ชี บิ เขา ฝั ถก ก มาก
 ฝั ช่อน เหน เข้า ท่าน บิ ไคร่ พน เหน ถน ท่าน บิ ไคร่ ไค
 28 ต คน ไต ชี ช้าง มา หา พัก เมือง มา ชี ช่อน เหนออ โพธิ์
 (อ)ก มน บิ ช้าง บิ ม้า บิ ม ปวด บิ ม นาง บิ ม ใจ(อ)
 30 (น บิ)ม ทอง ไท แก่ มน ของ มน คง (เป)น บ้าน เปน (มอ)
 (ง)ไค (ช)า (ส)อก ชี ให้ออ หว พง หว รบ ก ตบ ชี บิ ไค

- 32 ปาก ปด^๓ ม ก^๓ ดง อนน^๓ ฌม^๓ แชน ไว^๓ หันน ไพร^๓ ผ้า (ห้)า
 ปก กตาง บ้า^๓น กตาง^๓ เมือง^๓ มี^๓ ก้อย^๓ มี^๓ ความ เจบ ของ
 34 (ข^๓)อง ใจ มนน จกก ก^๓ตาว^๓ เอง เจ้า^๓ เอง ชน บ^๓ ไว^๓ ไป ดนน ก
 ๓ ดง อ(น)น ท่าน แชน ไว^๓ พ^๓ ชน รามค^๓แหง เจ้า^๓ เมือง ได้

SECOND FACE.

- 36 ฌ^๓น รย(ก^๓)มอธ ตาม ล้วน ความ แก่ มนน ด้วย^๓ ช^๓ ไพร ใน
 (๓)อง สุก^๓โไท^๓นี้^๓ จ้ง ช^๓ ล้าง บ้า^๓ หมาย บ้า^๓ พด ทอว^๓ เมอ
 38 (ง^๓)นี้^๓ ทก แห้ง บ้า^๓ พ้าว ก^๓ หตาย ใน^๓ เมือง^๓ นี้^๓ บ้า^๓ ตาง
 ก^๓ (ห^๓)ตาย ใน^๓ เมือง^๓ นี้^๓ หมาย มอ^๓ง ก^๓ หตาย ใน^๓ เมือง^๓ นี้^๓
 40 ห(มา)ก ชาม ก^๓ หตาย ใน^๓ เมือง^๓ นี้^๓ ใคร ล้าง ได้ ไว^๓ แก่ มนน
 ()^๓เมือง สุก^๓โไท^๓นี้^๓ มี^๓ น้ำ ตรพง โย^๓ ส^๓ ใส^๓ กน^๓ ด
 42 (ง^๓)ง^๓ กน^๓ น้ำ โย^๓ ฌ^๓มอธ แด้ง รอบ^๓ เมือง^๓ สุก^๓โไท^๓นี้^๓ ตร
 ()^๓บ (ไ^๓)ค^๓ ลาม พน^๓ ค^๓ ร้อย ๑๐ คน ใน^๓ เมือง^๓ สุก^๓โไท^๓นี้^๓
 44 มก(ก^๓) ทาน มก^๓ ทร^๓ สด มก^๓ โย^๓ ทาน พ^๓ ชน รามค^๓แหง
 เจ้า^๓ (๓)อง สุก^๓โไท^๓นี้^๓ ทง^๓ ชว^๓ แม่ ชว^๓ เจ้า^๓ ทอ^๓ย บัว^๓ว ทอ^๓ย นา
 46 ง^๓ ต(ก^๓) เจ้า^๓ สุก^๓ ชน ทง^๓ ชน^๓ ทง^๓ หตาย ทง^๓ ฌ^๓ชาย ฌ^๓ญง
 ฌ^๓ง (ท^๓)ว^๓ มี^๓ สรชา ใน พระพุทธร^๓สา^๓สน ทร^๓ สด ฌ^๓มอธ พรน
 48 ษา^๓ ท(ก^๓) คน^๓ ฌ^๓มอธ โย^๓ พรน ษา^๓ กราน ก^๓ ฌ^๓น^๓ ฌ^๓เอน^๓ ฌ^๓น^๓ จ้ง
 (๓)ไค^๓ ฌ^๓มอธ กราน ก^๓ ฌ^๓น^๓ มี^๓ พัน^๓ บั^๓ย^๓ มี^๓ พัน^๓ หมาย^๓ มี^๓
 50 พัน^๓ คอก^๓ ไม้^๓ มี^๓ หมอน ฌ^๓ง^๓ หมอน โน^๓น บ^๓ร^๓พาร ก^๓ ฌ^๓น^๓ โอ
 (ย^๓)ทาน แด^๓ บ^๓ แด^๓ ฌ^๓น^๓ จ้าง^๓ ไป^๓ สด ฌ^๓น^๓ คด^๓ ก^๓ ฌ^๓น^๓ เอง^๓ อ
 52 (ไ^๓)ร^๓ ฌ^๓น^๓ (ก^๓) พัน^๓ ฌ^๓มอ^๓ จก^๓ เข้า^๓ มา^๓ วยง^๓ รยง^๓ กน^๓ ฌ^๓ว^๓ อ^๓ไ
 ฌ^๓น^๓ (พ^๓)น^๓ ทอ^๓ ทว^๓ ตาน^๓ ค^๓ บง^๓ค^๓ ด้วย^๓ สยง^๓ พาด^๓ สยง^๓ พ
 54 น^๓ สยง^๓ (๓)น^๓ สยง^๓ ชน^๓บ^๓ ใคร^๓ จก^๓ มก^๓ ฌ^๓น^๓ ฌ^๓น^๓ ใคร^๓ ๑

- 78 สู้ ไท ไท นี้ แต่ ให้ วิ ต พลุ ถก เมือง นี้ ท้อง เมือง
 นี้ ค ฝ ให้ บิ ต พลุ บิ ถก ฝ ใน เขา อนน บิ คัม บิ
80 เกรง เมือง นี้ หาย ๓๒๓๔ สัก ป มโรง พุ ชนรามค
 แหง เจ้า เมือง ครตชนนาโต สู้ ไท ไท นี้ ปลอกไม้ คา
82 น นี้ ได้ สบ ศ เข้า จัง ให้ ข้าง ฟนน ขดาร์ หน ยั้ง ห่วง
 กลาง ไม่ ดาน นี้ วอน เตือน คบบ เตือน โอ กแปด วอน วณ
84 น เตือน เตม เตือน ทั้ง แปด วณ ฝูง บิ คุร เกร มหาเถ
 ว ชัน ณ่ง เหนอ ขดาร์ หน สัด ขรม แก อบาถ ฝูง
86 ง ท่วย จำ สัด ฝ ใช้ วณ สัด ขรม พุ ชนรามคแหง
 เจ้า เมือง ครตชนนาโต สู้ ไท ไท ชัน ณ่ง เหนอ ขดา
88 ร หน ให้ () ฝูง ทวย ถก เจ้า ถก ชน ฝูง ทวย ถ บ้าน ถ
 เมือง กณ วณ เตือน คบบ เตือน เตม ท่าน แหง ขาง ฝ
90 (อ) ก กรพค ตยง ทัยน ญอม ทอง งา(---)ชา ชู รจา คร
 (พ) ชนรามคแหง ชัน ชั ไป นบ พร(ะ ใน อร) ัญญก ถ้
92 (---)มา จา ริก อนน ณ่ง มี ใน เมือง ขดอง สดาก วั
 (ค)ย พระ คร รตนธาต จาริก อนน ณ่ง มี ใน ถ้า ช ถ้า
94 (พระรา)ม อย ฝั่ง น้ำ สฝ่าย จา(ร)ก อนน ณ่ง มี ใน ถ้า
 (รต)น ชาร ใน กลาง บ่า ดาน นี้ มี ชาตา สอง อนน อนน ณ่ง ช
96 (ษา)ตา พระมาถ อนน ณ่ง ช พุทธ บ(---ช)ดาร์ หน นี้ ช น
 นง ษธามาตร สดาก วั หัน (จ ท) งงหลาย เหน (ได้)

FOURTH FACE.

- 98 พู่^๑ชน^๒ พระ(รา)มค^๓แห่ง^๔ ตก^๕ พู่^๖ชน^๗ ษว^๘ นทรา^๙ ทตย^{๑๐} เ
(น^๑)ชน^๒ (ไ)น^๓ เมือง^๔ ษว^๕ สข^๖ (นนา^๗)ไ^๘ ต^๙ ส^{๑๐} ไ^{๑๑} ไ^{๑๒} ทง^{๑๓} มา^{๑๔} ถา^{๑๕} ถา^{๑๖}
100 (แ)ไ^๑ เมือง^๒ ไ^๓ หดา^๔ พัว^๕ (---)ไ^๖ ชา^๗ อ^๘ ชา^๙ ของ^{๑๐} มา^{๑๑} ออ^{๑๒}

- [illegible]

NOTES.

N. B. References by numeral are to the numbered lines of the Text and of the Transliteration. With these also correspond the numbered lines of the Translation, so far as differences of idiom permit. References by letter are to publications named in the Bibliography, as follows :—

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P. Pavie : Mission Pavie ; Études Diverses II, 1898.

RS. รุ่งเมืองสุโขทัย (Rüäng Sūkhothāi,) Bangkok, 1908.

It has not been thought necessary to perplex the reader with unfamiliar spellings, save in cases where the text itself is in question. Ordinarily, therefore, words are cited in their modern form.

1. The first word *พ* is of interest as showing that the names of the Siamese letters were pronounced then as they are now ; that is, with the *ə*-vowel instead of with the *æ*-vowel of Indian usage. Simple *ə*-vowel *final* therefore is nowhere written in this text, it being inherent in the preceding consonant. But *ə* medial always appears. Thus we have *ป*, *ฏ* 7, and *ท* 23 ; but *บ*, *พ* 2, *ด* 4. Other important points wherein the early usage of this letter is at variance with the present are illustrated in this same context, and will therefore be considered together here. *a*) The vowel *ə* did not then require an *ə* 'supporter' after it any more than did any other simple vowel. See *พ* (*พ*) 1, *ท* (*ท*) 26, *ด* (*ด*) 88. The *ə* must now be written after every open (*final*) *ə*-vowel, but the usage is wholly anomalous. *b*) An initial vowel sound regularly required the *ə*-'supporter' then, as it always does now. But the second word in the Prince's title — *พ* for *ชินพ*—appears without it both here and in 98, suggesting that the theory was not then fully grasped. *c*) Another token of imperfect-mastery of the system is seen in the use of the letter in diphthongs of the *เ* type. In closed syllables, with these diphthongs the *ə* appears, properly enough,

as symbol of the vowel which forms the second element, or "vanish". But contrary to the analogy of *a*) above, and contrary also to present usage, whenever the syllable is open, an extra *ə* must appear as 'supporter.' Thus we have ^əເສຍ, ^əເສຍ in 1, but ^əເສຍ, ^əເສຍ in 3. *d*) The cases of ^əເສຍ (ເສຍ) 15, 29, of ^əເສຍ, 31, and ^əເສຍ 114 (for ^əເສຍ), of ^əເສຍ (ເສຍ), 116, and of ^əຈຍ (for) ^əຈຍ 20, may indicate uncertainty as to the spelling, or may point to a different pronunciation of those vowels.

The last word but one in the line is given as *ພຸ* in S. P corrects it rightly to *ພາ* (ພາ).

There is no doubt that the vigorous native idiom of these opening lines seems shockingly rude to the ordinary Siamese, accustomed to expect in such a document nothing but the artificialities and servilities of courtly speech. I fear that a certain squeamishness of this same nature lingers even among people who ought to know better, and that it may be largely responsible for the general lack of interest and pride the Siamese have hitherto shown in this record and in this man. Especially offensive to such is the uncompromising 1st personal pronoun *ູ* of a time when both prince and subject, without insolence and without slavishness, could use the same "I". This word, with its companion of the second person, *ເື່* is now entirely banished from courteous speech. The third of the group, *ເື່* when used of persons now carries a distinct note of contempt. But the Prince applies it to his distinguished visitors, l. 30, and more surprisingly still, to a temple building, l. 66. In this, as in many other points, the Lao is much nearer the ancient—and in this case the more virile—type. The story of the debasement of the pronouns is too long to be told here; but with regard to one of them see below, l. 26.

2. The first word is plainly *ູ*. S has it so in his text, but makes it 'phu' in his transliteration and translation. P boldly re-writes it to *ເື່* in his text. The word is a 1st personal pronoun now obsolete or provincial (Lao), and generally plural in sense, with a following appositive. (See Frankfurter: Siamese Grammar, p. 68.)

ໂສ is the numeral *ສາ*, which form also occurs 95, 115. Similar uncertainty as to this medial vowel is found in other

words :—โพ 42, ขอ 100; โขก 48, 83, ขอก 100, 115; โนน 50, นอน 71, 74, 117, 121.

2—3. *เมื่อ* which occurs twice in this sentence, is the well-known sentimental 1st personal pronoun of the romances. S copies it rightly, but is quite at a loss what to do with it. In face of the explicit language of the text that "my elder brother who was first died from me while yet little," S renders: "Le frère qui suivit l'ainé (le cadet) mourut." P's text is right, and his understanding of the general drift of the passage; but troubled still by the memory of *เมื่อ*, he gratuitously adds: "le frère cadet m'est resté." The second *เมื่อ* S gets rid of by transliterating it as *เมื่อ*, which gives an impossible syntax. In the second word beyond this S was puzzled by the unfamiliar *มด* (มด), and writes the word *มด* in his text, and *sē* in his transliteration,—with no intelligible meaning in either case. RS gives a modern gloss *ดั่ง* *มด* for *ดอยมด*, which no doubt gives the true meaning. But *ดอยมด* seems wholly obsolete.

The reader will notice that division of words at the end of a line caused the early scribe no difficulty whatever. The line simply ended with the last letter that could conveniently be included.

4. The word *เจ้า* (rice) is here used as a measure of time equivalent to 'year'. It occurs again in the same sense in 82, 104, 105. The other word for year—*ปี*—is used also in this text, but only in connection with the name of the cyclic year of date :—80, 101, 106.

The words *ขุนสามชน* mean 'lord (prince) of three peoples'; and I understand them to be the chieftain's feudal title as overlord of three clans, while *เจ้าเมืองตาก* names his civic authority and his stronghold. Both French versions, however, read "mandarin (or seigneur) de troisième rang", plainly understanding *ชั้น* instead of *ชน* of their own text. They thus imply an imperial organization of government wholly unknown in feudal Siam. Tak is now a ruined town a short distance above the modern Rāhæng, and about forty miles

west of Sūkhothāi. Chawt has not been identified. ที่ here and in 14 we must understand to have been pronounced ที่ as explained under 1 above. It is clearly the equivalent of ที่, and like it is an enclitic form, with specialized function, of the substantive ที่ 'place'.

5. The phrases หัวซ้าย หัวขวา are not now used in Siamese to designate direction, but are readily understood as meaning 'to the left', 'to the right'. The precise positions may not be very clear in this case, but there is nothing either in text or in context to support the 'rive gauche' and 'rive droit' of S. and P.

6. Uncertainty as to the sentence structure has made possible what I cannot but regard as an misunderstanding of the entire situation here described. Who was it that fled? All previous translators, looking only at the nearest phrase, พ่อกู, have assumed that it was 'my father' who fled. But in the first place, the filial piety which the writer so earnestly claims just below, ll. 11—16, should have forbidden the parade of such cowardice on the part of his father, especially as there is not the slightest necessity for mentioning it here, even were it the fact. In the second place, the very next line seems plainly to imply that his father was not only there, but was actually pushing on to the encounter;—else how could the son "urge his elephant in ahead of his father"; that is, usurp his father's place in the impending duel? In the third place, the very number and variety of the words used to express the idea of fleeing, make it difficult to understand their application to a single subject like 'my father'. Far more naturally would such an inclusive and generalized predicate apply to the flight of a mass of men or of an army. Furthermore, the syntax does not by any means necessitate such a construction. พ่อกู might without violence be regarded as standing in genitive construction with the phrase just preceding which I have comprehensively rendered 'people' (of which see further below), and then the whole phrase 'my father's people' would become subject of the verb-phrase of fleeing. There is no difficulty involved in leaving เข้า thus at the end of the preceding predicate—เกลื่อนเข้า='charged home'.

There remains still a difficulty, but it involves the one construction quite as much as the other. It lies in the phrase *ไพร่ฟ้าหน้าใส*, and more particularly in its second member, to which it seems almost impossible to assign any meaning within the natural range of its terms which shall seem at all compatible with the situation described. *ไพร่ฟ้า* all agree in regarding as the antique form of the phrase now known as *ไพร่ฟ้า*, meaning 'people of the realm'. *หน้าใส* 'faces bright' is also a phrase in current use as a poetic figure for 'glad' 'cheerful'. But there seems to be no way of justifying such untimely gladness in the face of imminent disaster, or of justifying its mention here at all, even if it were actually felt. The only way out, it seems to me, is to take the whole phrase as a stock expression in rhetorical or poetic style, equivalent perhaps to something like 'loyal subjects', taking the epithet as wholly conventional—in fact a poetic commonplace like Homer's 'blameless Ethiopians' and Virgil's 'pius Æneas'. This phrase, it should be noted, occurs again, l. 21, in a context where the epithet is almost as inexplicable as it is here. On this point see further Note, l. 23 below.

This last suggestion derives support from the marked tendency toward formal and conventional phrasing throughout this inscription. This earliest written speech in the language is as yet by no means free from the leading-strings of poetry. The theme itself is essentially a ballad theme. This very phrase is a striking example of the metrical form which continually recurs here, unmistakably marked as such by the curious internal rhyme, as well as by the formal balance of its members. The conventional character of these expressions, moreover is generally marked by some isolation or obscurity of meaning attaching to one or more of their members, due, as we may imagine both to exigencies of rhyme and to the use of antiquated diction. Another feature which connects them with the ballad-forms is their capacity for impromptu variation. Two examples in this text are plainly variations of this very phrase which we are considering; namely *ไพร่ฟ้าข้าไท* l. 23, and *ไพร่ฟ้าหน้าปก* l. 32–33. Indeed the modern Siamese phrase for people of the realm, *ไพร่ฟ้าข้าแผ่นดิน*, is but another variant of the same original, in which all inherited obscurity in the second member is at last cleared up by the explicit

meaning of its terms. Variation in the pattern itself, instead of variation in content, is illustrated in the last phrase of this line, หนี ญญุฬ พฬ จมจ. The rhythm is here triple in both members, augmented as they are by the introduction of a short alliterative syllable in each before the main stress. For a general view of this subject of metrical forms in prose, the reader is referred to pp. 19-21 above.

The word ^๗ fled, near the end of the line, illustrates one of the difficulties growing out of the fact that when the vowels were given their place in the line, they were not also given their place in the sequence of letters in the syllable. Since the vowel ^ must appear at the beginning of the syllable in which it is used, no matter where in the syllable it is actually pronounced, it comes about that 'ni' fled, is spelled exactly as is 'hin' stone, ll. 82, 85. The return of this group of vowels to the places above and below, which they occupied in the Indian scheme, has obviated the difficulty in their cases—indeed, this difficulty may have hastened their return. But a similar uncertainty as to pronunciation still besets the prepositive vowels. Only the context can determine whether ๗ spells 'hæng' or 'ngæ'; whether ๗๗ spells 'phlau' or 'phela'.

As regards the text, S has transformed the second word of l. 6 beyond recognition, and beyond possible pronunciation, by writing an extra ๗ bodily in place of the ๗ before the consonant. P leaves off the 'mai ek' both in this word and in ๗๗ further on. But omissions and even alterations of accents by P are far too frequent to call for individual notice. ๗ is made into ๗, which is probably right as a correction; but it is not the reading of the stone. ๗ does appear once out of five occasions of the use of the word, in l. 21.

7. The vacant space at the beginning of this line was once occupied by some letter, for a trace of a part of its right hand stroke still remains. Whatever it was, it cannot be a part of the following word. S followed the obvious suggestion of making it a part of the previous word, and wrote in a ๗—almost at random, it would seem, since it makes a word of no intelligible sense. P follows S both in text and transliter-

ation. The word at the end of the previous line may be the equivalent of the modern 侏, meaning 'dwarf' 'squat,' 'creeping'. In default of any better suggestion I have taken it so, and render it 'cowering'. RS inserts the sign of repetition, 丿, which may possibly have been the missing character. But it hardly seems likely that such a clever clerical device should have been in use when writing was so new; and a repetition of the last syllable of the balanced phrase spoils the rhythm, which the Siamese never forgets. I leave the gap therefore as I find it.

The 7th word of this line is read by all the editors as 𑖦𑖩. The plain reading of the stone is 𑖦𑖩. The vowel is positively 𑖩, and not 𑖩. The only doubt about the consonant is as to whether a certain small break in the stone has obliterated the loop of a 𑖦, or whether there never was any loop there, and the letter was 𑖩. In either case, to read 𑖦𑖩 requires an alteration of the text which the scholar should be loth to make, but which has found favor only because of the obvious sense it gives—'J'ai percé la foule'. But the text gives good sense as it stands. All the other elephants that figure in this writing appear under their proper names. It would be strange indeed if the hero's elephant alone, in the hero's only recorded exploit, were left nameless. Neka Phon—shortened as Dr. Frankfurter suggests from Aneka Phon, (a host of troops)—would seem a very suitable name for a war elephant, and such I take it to be.

The sort of treatment this text has suffered throughout at the hands of editors is well shown in this single line. Of the 𑖦 inserted at the head of the line, which has no other raison d'être than that for a quarter of a century it has served to conceal an editor's inability to do anything else with it than to fill an empty space, I have already spoken. Through mere carelessness it would seem, since no conceivable end is gained, S writes 𑖦 (or is it 𑖦?) for 𑖩 (2nd word), and 𑖦 for 𑖩 (7th word), neither change according with his own transliteration; and he omits four of the seven still legible accents of the line. P on the other hand, with deliberation, but with equal clumsiness, attempts by mere pen-stroke to make over 𑖦 into 𑖩 (7th word), with a result which resembles nothing whatever in Prince Ram Khāmhāng's alphabet. In future I shall spare myself and

my readers further illustration of this point, and shall confine myself to such alterations of the text as directly concern the sense.

8. ฟุ่ 'to thrust with a weapon hurled'. It hardly can be "je sautai sur l'éléphant" of S, nor even "je combattis son éléphant" of P.

9. The second word seems to me to be a part of the elephant's name, เมือง เมือง "the city's gold, or treasure," and I take the next word เมือง 'defeated' as expressing the result of the thrust. S and P, following only the cue of the word เมือง, take เมือง for เมือง, the well known Lao city. But among some hundreds of elephant's names encountered in reading, I cannot recall a single monosyllabic one; and that city's name occurs in this text spelled เมือง l. 121.

10. เพราะว่า, 'because.' In modern Siamese the word is almost exclusively prospective 'with a view to,' 'in order that,' 'for.'

In this text the use of the nikhahit (◌̣) seems quite unsettled. It was, of course, the 'anusvara' used in Indian writing to indicate a nasalized final short *a*. In modern Siamese and Lao, in combination with ๑—as in ๑๑—it is the regular spelling of the syllable *am*. Indeed the alternative spelling ๑๑ almost never is seen save in the case of foreign words. In this text forms without ๑ are as numerous as forms with it. Thus we have : คั้นแพว *passim*, ๓ 37, ๓ 53, ๑๑ 11, 16, 17, ๑๑ 53, ๑๑ 94; over against คำ 116, คำ 23, คำ 86, คำ 93, ๑๑ 18, ๑๑ 41, ๑๑ 42, ๑๑ ๑๑ 16. In each case the usage is quite consistent. But the sign seems to indicate an entirely different sound in ๑๑=๑๑ *acid* 12, ๑๑ perhaps ๑๑ 49, 50, and ๑๑ ๑๑—115.

12. All the European editors so far seem quite unaware of the fact that ๑๑ was, and in the North still is, the generic name for any edible fruit, including of course the fruit *par excellence*, the areca-nut, but not by any means limited to that. "Sour" and "sweet", the terms applied to the word in this line, cannot without violence be applied to the areca-nut; yet B, S, and P, all feel compelled to attempt that

violence. The generic meaning of 'fruit' obviates all difficulties both here and in 49. The specific sense is clearly intended in 24, 37, 69, as is indicated by its association with ทุ (betel-leaf). The same word becomes a subordinate element with vanishing significance in compounds, as ทุมะม่วง (mango), 39, ทุมะขาม (tamarind) 40, ทุมะพร้าว (cocoanut) 72, ทุมะล 73.

Since the Prince's day loss of stress first shortened ทุมา to ไม้ (still heard in the North), and lastly to มะ or ม, which has now become an integral part of the names of many fruit-bearing trees—as indeed it has in the case of the very ones just cited. All such require the addition of a new word meaning fruit, if fruit is distinctly intended. Thus we have ลูกมะม่วง 'a mango', but ต้นมะม่วง 'a mango tree'. The last phrase exactly parallels our 'crab apple tree', as compared with the earlier and more idiomatic 'crab tree'. The history here sketched is no doubt that also of many other dissyllabic native Siamese words, whose compound nature is now entirely forgotten; as, for example, the large group of household and market utensils, and the still larger group of animal class-names beginning—according to euphonic conditions—with กะ, ก, or ต.

The word 'lang' I have not succeeded in finding as the name of a fruit or a tree either south or north. A Lao friend recognizes it as a jingling pendant used with ทุมะพร้าว 'cocoanut' but not known to him separately from that. Here it would seem to be a different tree at together.

14. The second word is certainly ไต 'any', and not ๑ 'look', S, nor ๑ T, P.

13—14. The phrase ๑ ทุมะพร้าว has been the source of much perplexity to all students of this text, native as well as foreign. For what seems a very happy solution I am indebted to the kindness of Chau Suriyawong of Chiang Mai. The expression, he assured me, is a stereotyped phrase readily understood by the Lao, meaning 'to hunt wild elephants'. The apparent irrelevance of the terms used he explained as follows:—๑ is used in the same sense it still has in the phrase ๑ ทุมะพร้าว 'to lay up the strands of rope'. ทุมะพร้าว, of course, refers to the strands of rawhide used in making the riata for noosing the

game, while ໕໕ should mean the place where the herd was assembled together. The metrical form with caesural tie-rhyme certainly marks the phrase as conventional. See p. 20.

15. For the balanced phrasing see pp. 18—19. The elephant's trunk is esteemed a great delicacy among the northern tribes,—so much so that no common person would think of keeping it for his own use. It is prepared by roasting it in a deep pit, where it is kept covered up in hot earth for days. P's rendering 'des défences des éléphants' both here and in the previous line is odd enough; but it suggests the straits to which he was reduced.

16. Of 'je pleurai mon père, et n'ayant plus à soigner ce dernier' (S), and of 'pleurant mon père' (P), there is not the slightest hint in the text. ໕໕ means 'constantly', 'steadily'; and so both S and P render it at the last, in spite of their manifest impression that it ought to mean something else.

The second word is plainly ໕໕= ໕໕ 'as' and not ໕໕, nor 'rang' (S), nor ໕໕ (P), no one of which has any known meaning applicable here. The editors did not know the letter ໕.

18. The first word is involved in a break in the stone, but enough of it remains to make sure that its second letter is ໕, and that its first is a letter closed above like ໕ or ໕. The word cannot be ໕ 'four' as B's rendering gives it. S in his text writes ໕໕, which not only satisfies the requirements of the stone, but makes perfect sense in the phrase ໕໕໕, not yet obsolete, and equivalent to the modern ໕໕໕ 'altogether.' But S's transliteration reads 'phonla' and his translation follows suit with 'avec ses revenus'. P not only follows S in both, but has actually written the impossible ໕໕ into the text, where the penstroke with white ink betrays it.

The personal narrative ends here. The new section recounts in eloquent phrase and with dramatic circumstance the prosperity, freedom, generosity, and justice of the Prince's reign. Henceforth he is spoken of in the third person, either by his name, or by his office as Prince. Only once, l. 29, does the ໕ of the earlier narrative appear, betraying the fact that he is still the speaker. The characteristic metrical form of lyrical

passages is encountered at once at the close of the general introductory statement.

All the European editors seem obsessed by the idea that in this section must be found the "Code" which has become, it would almost seem, the one indispensable element in every such inscription. P writes in flowing phrase, p. 177, "Il donne ensuite la constitution de son royaume, tant administrative que religieuse. Il a fait graver sur cette pierre la loi qui régit son royaume, pour que le peuple en prit connaissance . . . Cette inscription est restée la base fondamentale de leur vie civile et religieuse." Unfortunately this strong prepossession of all the editors displays itself, in the large amount of intrusive material they find it necessary to import into their translations, and in the surprising liberties they take both with the grammar and with the natural sense of the text. If other "codes" with which of late we have been made familiar are no better grounded in the facts of speech than is this, it is safe to say they never could have been administered. From beginning to end of the section there is not found a single one of all those verbal phrase-forms and modal particles—permissive, mandatory, or prohibitive—without which, in an uninflected language, no "code" could possibly be known to be such. The only natural and obvious inference, both from sentence form and from content, is that in his general survey of the conditions prevailing in his reign, the Prince, by a natural transition, and with natural and pardonable pride, passes from the visible prosperity, security, and happiness of his realm to speak of the kind and just government which has made these things possible. The features of that government he expounds concretely and dramatically, precisely as he has expounded the prosperity, by a series of illustrative examples or scenes—idealized of course. But with true human and true literary instinct he has refrained from marring their interest and weakening their force by attempting to make them prescriptive.

With this comprehensive statement, the value of which any one conversant with the language is invited to test for himself, I must dismiss this matter. I trust I may be excused from exhibiting in detail what I cannot but regard as mere foibles on the part of scholars whom I sincerely respect, however much I disapprove of some of their methods

—scholars my own obligations to whom I am ever ready to acknowledge.

21. The new topic is introduced by characteristic metrical phrases. The first dipody is identical with the one commented on in 6. Its second word is here written with ๑ instead of ๓,—which is probably correct. Its last word is certainly, ๑๙ and not ๑๙ as S and P have it.

22. The opening of the line finds us in the midst of another metrical phrase, no doubt conventional as well. The first word is wholly uncertain. Its consonant may be either ๓ or ๑, since small dependence can be placed upon the little horizontal stroke which alone distinguishes between them. The stroke is there, but the stone-cutter has the habit of carving just such a stroke from the angle of the adjacent letter ๓ by way of a flourish. Not one of the known words which the letter might represent at all fits the sense. In such a case the native scholar is utterly at a loss to understand the European's remorseless pursuit of the individual word. It may have been, as he well knows, no word at all, but only an extemporized rhyme or a hazarded jingling pendant. For him all considered speech is Fine Art, quite as valuable for its sensuous effect and suggestion as for its logical and definable content. Fine Art it is too in that the whole is something far other and greater the mere sum of its parts. In such cases the native trusts himself absolutely to the total impression, and questions not the uncertain detail. And he is not wholly wrong. Who but pedants ever pursue the precise content of each illustration in one of Macaulay's dazzling flights, or question separately the logical definition of the words in Poe's haunting phrases? In the present case we have our cue in ๑๙ 'trusts' and ๑๙ 'props'. "Sympathizes and helps" is what the whole is felt to mean. It should be remembered also that because nearly all its words are monosyllables, the Siamese is fairly compelled to secure by some such means as these the needed rhetorical amplification of its otherwise highly condensed diction.

In the midst of this serious writing ๑๙ sounds surprisingly like a bit of modern half-slang in the sense of "are great hands to" "are forever——". But there seems no escape from it. Nor need we flinch, I imagine, from the obvious

suggestion of the set phrase which follows, that children and wives are sought in order to help in cultivating the fields. The suggestion is not universally abhorrent to human nature. The invariable precedence given to ลูก 'children' in the phrase ลูก ฅ็ญ, meaning 'family', is, I imagine, wholly a matter of euphony. The more sonorous ฅ็ญ is reserved for the final place and the heavy phrase-accent. See Note 2 p. 18. The introduction of the subject, โพร่ ฅ็ญ ฅ็ญ 'people of the realm', after the statement is apparently complete, is quite foreign to present literary usage, but is a frequent device of racy talk, and follows well the lead given by ฅ็ญ above.

In the literal sense of 'father' the word พ่อ occurs thirteen times in the opening section of this inscription. As honorific prefix to the hero's name, it occurs later ten times, and in all of these I render it 'Prince'. Twice only, here and in l. 24, does it occur without any limiting word, and in both I render it 'the Prince', as suiting best both syntax and sense. B, S, and P, all choose the literal 'father', perhaps as lending itself better to the idea of a "code".

25. ฅ็ญ ฅ็ญ is an ancient conditional conjunction equivalent to ฅ็ญ ฅ็ญ or ฅ็ญ ฅ็ญ, 'if'—the ฅ็ญ curiously paralleling the 'an' or 'and' of the elder English 'an if'. Besides its ordinary function as the conjunction 'and', the word ฅ็ญ has some idiomatic uses in this writing which it may be well to notice here. 1) In 22 and 78, with circumflex accent, it is equivalent to '-soever' after the indefinite pronoun ฅ็ญ. 2) In 51 it seems the equivalent of the modern distributive particle ฅ็ญ: 'every', so that ฅ็ญ ฅ็ญ should mean 'every year' or better 'year by year'. 3) The ฅ็ญ which immediately follows this last may be the idiomatic sentence-closer still frequently heard in such locutions as ฅ็ญ ฅ็ญ and ฅ็ญ ฅ็ญ ฅ็ญ, though I have rendered it by 'and' in the translation.

26. All the European editors assume that ฅ็ญ must be the pronoun 'me'. But the writer nearly everywhere else uses ฅ็ญ in this sense, even in this immediate context, l. 29. There is no assignable reason why he should change the pro-

noun here. Moreover it is very doubtful, to say the least, whether at the time of this writing the abject noun ข้า 'slave' had advanced so far in that series of changes which at last have made of it the haughty, self-assertive 'I' of modern speech to inferiors. ข้า is still courteous in the North. There is no evidence yet to show that at this time ข้า was a pronoun at all. I take it therefore in the meaning it has everywhere else in this text; namely, 'subject'.

28-31. This passage has proved a very perplexing one, and largely so because of the usual lack of explicit connection between its members. The difficulties mostly disappear if we regard it as illustrating the Prince's generosity in his treatment of visitors of rank, but at opposite ends of the scale of wealth and power. The customary gifts and courtesies are not neglected in the case of the one because he is poor and weak; nor, because he is now in the Prince's power, is advantage taken of the other to crush in him a possible rival.

31. ข้า^๑เสก I take to be variant spelling of ข้า^๑เสก, l. 113-114, which plainly must be our modern ข้าศึก 'enemy'. ข้าเสก which follows it, is of course its alliterative pendant or echo, introducing no new idea. Cf. p. 19, and Note to l. 23 above.

The extremities to which editors have been driven under the tyranny of the code-idea may be seen in the following renderings of this passage:—"After the goods have been stapled up in the town and stored, there will be made an election of slaves and a rejection of slaves. Such as are clever in spearing, clever in fighting, shall not be killed, neither shall they be beaten." B. "Dans les condamnations à mort q'on fasse choix des chefs de bande, qui sont de vrais tigres, ne pas les tuer serait un mal." P.

32. ที่นี่ is a demonstrative of place 'there' or 'yonder' still in use among the Lao. The device of a bell for securing the Prince's personal attention to an appeal for justice, crops up everywhere in the Orient. The classical version is no doubt the one in the Thousand and One Nights, where the hero is none other than Haroun Al Raschid himself. It appears in classical Siamese in the work entitled สิบสองเพียดนับ.

36. ชื่อ 'right' has been misread by B, S, and P, as ชื่อ 'name' both here and in 26 above.

41. In all my earlier attempts to read it, the first word of this line seemed hopelessly lost in the corrosion of the surface of the stone. The transliteration therefore left the space unfilled. A last exhaustive scrutiny of the writing, however, undertaken in the preparation of the plates, convinces me that S and P were right in reading กลาง. Traces which to the eye were completely lost, were brought out in a careful 'rub'. A similar gap, with similar uncertainty as to what should fill it, is found at the beginning of the next line. S and P insert ไ้ repeated from the preceding context. But it seems hardly logical to say 'clear as it is to drink water of the Khong.' Since I have no alternative suggestion to make, I prefer to leave the space unfilled, as does RS.

43. The gap noted above seems to have been caused by a drip of water, which has excavated a deep narrow channel that extends continuously some six lines further, and then with interruptions quite to the lower edge of this face of the stone. While in this line it has not entirely effaced any one of the three letters involved, it has left the reconstruction of the text more perplexed than ever. The real trouble is to discover anything that will make intelligible sense in the same phrase with ณ at the end of 42. ณ has definitely closed the adverbial phrase preceding ณ, leaving that word to begin the subject phrase. That word is the Indian numeral 'three', likely to be used only in some compound name or title. The general sense, which fortunately is unmistakable, calls for something equivalent to 'circuit', or 'distance' or perhaps 'wall'. The fragmentary traces at the beginning of the line suggest ข with a faint line which might be part of an ไ้, making ไ้ with the letter following. But no word fulfilling these conditions has yet been found. S and P read "tripura dai", and translate "les trois faubourgs compris". But the idea of faubourgs as constituent parts of a municipality seems wholly foreign to Siamese thought, nor would the Siamese apply to faubourgs separately the term 'pura' (buri) 'fenced city', which includes all its parts. RS reads ไ้, which is within the possibilities of the stone, but which leaves ณ entirely unaccounted for.

46. พัง ขึ้น must be meant for พัง ขึ้น, 'all'. Letters of the ๗-๗-๗ group are very uncertainly distinguished in this inscription.

49. ฟัน here and in the next line is a perplexing word. Like several others in this brief passage it is quite as much a stumbling block to native scholars as to foreign ones. Fortunately again the precise meaning of no one of them is essential to a comprehension of the vivid scenes here sketched. I follow, but which no assured conviction, the suggestion of a native friend that it stands for พรรณ 'sorts', 'kinds'. เบี้ย 'cowries' recalls the time when these shells were the chief currency in Siam. The term ดอกเบี้ย, 'cowrie-flower', is still the current word for 'interest'. P translates: "monceaux de gâteaux."

51. For แล ปี แล see Note l. 25. ลาน, a palm-leaf tablet containing the formula to be recited in making the offering. รูด both here and in 85, 86, is for ลวด, to recite a formula. รูดด is for รูด.

51-53. อวิญญู, which occurs twice here, and อวิญญู of ll. 63-66, are undoubtedly variant spellings of the same word, and both probably name the very same object. The word was originally a Pali adjective, arañña, derived from arañ 'forest' and meaning 'of or in the forest'. In Siamese it became a noun, and means 'a forest-monastery'. The correct Siamese spelling now should be either อวิญญู, with modified vowel, or อวิญญู, which is the precise equivalent of the Pali form. The discrepant spelling admits of complete explanation. The Sūkhothāi scheme, it will be remembered, included no direct symbol for short *a*, but indicated that vowel by the device of doubling the consonant. The consonant here is already doubled; but the other vowel, *i*, must precede its consonant, or precede both of them if there are two. So it had to be moved up to the front, and stand just after the *r*, giving us the spelling อวิญญู of ll. 63, 66. On the other hand, the Pali nasal *ñ* has no equivalent sound in Siamese, and the letter is rendered variously *y* or *n*, or *ny* according to circumstances or according to convenience. If the speaker rendered

it as *y*, and pronounced *arayyik*, the scribe, unless he happened to recall the Pali, would inevitably write *araiyik*, and that is precisely what he did in ll. 51, 53. B understood the word, and translated it correctly, twenty years before S discovered in it the sure foundation of the now famous theory of the Aryan settlement of the peninsula of Indo-China. S and P both suppress the word entirely in their translations of this passage, where the manifest sense makes it impossible to render it 'les Aryens' or 'des Aryikas', reserving these for the more tractable passages further on. Cf. S pp. 7, 8; and P pp. 171, 175, 188, 189, and elsewhere. As for this immediate passage, it is difficult to see how any of the European editors could have imagined that what they wrote was in any sense a translation, so few and rare are the points of contact between it and the text.

53. หัว ลาน คำ 'Black Lan Head' probably the name of some hamlet on the road between the forest-monastery and the city. On reaching the word สยง (เสียง) in this line, the stone-cutter was evidently in doubt whether it should not be spelled with the written vowel—in fact as it has come to be spelled in modern Siamese. To assure himself, with the point of his graver he very lightly scratched the word so spelled in the vacant space below the last word he had cut. The look of it, and very likely a glance at สยง and สยง just above, convinced him that the spelling was wrong, and he proceeded to cut the word correctly. In spite of all the vicissitudes of time, and in spite of the rough handling this stone has encountered, that lightest trace of a passing thought in the stone-cutter's mind six centuries ago may still be clearly read. His doubt was not illogical. Why should not a spoken vowel have its symbol in the written word? The pressure of that ever-recurring question has at last not merely legitimized the *i* which he was forced to leave out, but has created a symbol unknown to the Prince's scheme for the hitherto unwritten short *a*. It has not accomplished the same service in the entirely parallel cases of the unwritten *u* of สอน, and the short *o* of คน.

The assistance which the parallelism and balance of Siamese writing may sometimes render the student in dealing with words unknown or lost from the text, is well illustrated in ll. 53—54. Two balanced pairs of words name a quartette of festive sounds:—พาดย์-พิน-เลี่ยน-ขับ. The third word is entire-

ly unknown in any sense applicable here. The second pair is clearly marked as vocal by the ขับ 'singing' which we do know, as well as by the implied antithesis. เล่น may therefore safely be inferred to signify some form of vocalization. This inference is presently confirmed by the appearance of the word, ll. 53—54, in a balanced triad of festive actions :—เล่น 'sporting,' หัว (หัว), 'laughing,' and เล่น, 'carolling' (?).

56—58. ปาก ประตู here and in 32 distinguishes the gateway—the passage—from the leaves or doors used to close it. เพียบ พร้อม is an old-time phrase meaning 'absolutely', 'wholly', or as in this case, it is merely a sign of the superlative degree. It occurs again in 10. Public illuminations and displays of fireworks, of course, are what is spoken of in 57. นิตย จะ แดก of 58 has caused editors infinite trouble. B reads "a gong split in halves". S, hopeless of the text draws wildly on his imagination :—"les routes se croisent". P quite as wildly reads "La villa de Sukhodaya est immense, l'est à s'y perdre". Both S and P have changed แดก of the text to แฉก, 'thatch', and as usual with no resultant advantage. Our Siamese scholars are quite as much at a loss. A solution seemed as hopeless as ever, when a Lao friend recognized in it a slangy colloquialism still current in the North, used in speaking of great numbers, amounts, and the like—comparable perhaps to such western slang as 'fit to bust', 'till you can't rest', etc.

59. อัฐารค is simply the Indian numeral eighteen used as a substantive designation of an image of standard dimensions, much as the Englishman says "a sixty-four pounder" or "a six-footer". B has rendered the word correctly. S reads "une bibliothèque". P reads "des statues en relief", and fortifies the rendering by the following foot-note :—"Attharça : par là les Thais désignent les statuettes et bas-reliefs : manque dans les dictionnaires".

60. Caught in the tangle of superfluous verbiage just here, the engraver has lost his cue, and has repeated at the beginning of this line the four words he had just cut at the end of the last one.

62. I strongly suspect that the second word ฦ is an error for ฦ, which syntax and sense and the balanced phrasing alike

would lead one to look for here. An erosion at this point has obliterated all of the next word, or possibly of two short words, save a consonant at either end. B evidently understands *สังฆราช*, for he translates "high priest". S leaves the gap unfilled. P, for once does not write the word into his text, but transliterates "saingharâjas", as though there naturally should be more than one. It would be very convenient to read *สังฆราช* here. The context apparently calls for the name of some ecclesiastical functionary. A tracing from 64 where the word, though badly worn, is clearly identified, fits the space very well. But the final letter still remaining on the stone is the most serious obstacle in the way of this reading. True, the pronunciation would be the same in either case. But Pali words had then a long orthographic tradition behind them. The scribe would be far less likely to misspell one of them than one from his own hitherto untamed mother-tongue.

64. *ปิฏกไตร* the 'Three Baskets', name of the collected Buddhist Scriptures.

65. *ลูกแม่เมือง มา*, a Lao idiom answering to the Siamese *มาแต่เมือง* S displaces *ทุกคน* from its natural connection with the words before it, in order, as it would seem, that he may enlarge thereby the Aryan aristocracy which he has discovered in the word 'Arañnic'. His reading is:—"Tous les instituteurs de notre ville sont tous venus de la ville Çri Dharammarâya (*sic*) et demeurent avec les Aryens qui ont un temple" etc. P reads:—"Tous les immigrants venus de ville de Çri Dharmarâja vont, sans exception, s'installer dans le quartier des Aryikas".

66. *มน* at the end is, of course for *มนน=มัน*. The engraver had not room for the second *น* at the end of this line, and forgot to put it in when he began the next one. A similar omission, though not with the same excuse, occurs in I. 84, where we have *พัส* for *พัส*.

67—68. *ลูก*ยืน* 'rises up and stands', 'stands erect'. The unexpected *า* has sadly troubled the editors. B takes no notice whatever of the words. S discovers in them, of course, his protégés 'les Aryens', and reads "Les aînés de leur race". P simply says—"Partant de Sukhodaya."

70. The phrase at the end of the line is recognized in the North as *งามดัง แก้ว*. 'beautiful as if purposely made so'. The last word *แก้ว* is frequently used in Siamese of actions done with 'malice prepense', or with misleading intention, but not in this particular connection. The final *needed* is supposably in the break at the head of the next line, the opening line of the third face of the stone, and is not the *which* appears just at the edge of the break. As in a number of other cases, the problem of filling this insignificant gap at the beginning of a line has proved surprisingly difficult. The previous sentence is apparently closed, and the new sentence begins with the next complete word *after* the break.

71. *ดินนอน* is certainly 'north' and *หัวนอน*, l. 74, 116, is certainly 'south', however strange such orientation may seem, and however difficult it may be to account for the fact. It is affirmed that early sepulture among the Thais was always with the feet to the north. P has exactly reversed the compass-points here, though he has them right in 117, 121.

72. Two letters have been lost from the beginning of this line. They should be medial between initial *ป* at the end of 71, and final *น*, the first letter legible here. S, P, and RS read *ปสาน* = *ประสาน*, 'united', 'joined'—which may be right, though the word is an odd one in this context. Of *อน*, plainly writ, neither etymology nor meaning are known. The presumption, however, is that it is the name of some image, since the term *พระ* in this text is nowhere else applied to any inanimate objects save images and relics of Buddha. Cf. 59, 60, 91, 93, 96, 101, 102, 103, 104. The engraver omitted the letters *สา* from the middle of the word *ปสาน*, but by way of correction has supplied them in the interlinear space above.

75. *สัตถะ* still puzzles all editors. B renders it 'a lake'; S, 'des eremites'; S, 'des célèbres pénitents'. I would suggest that *สั* = *สั* is not an impossible variant of *สระ*, 'pool' or 'pond', from Pali *sāra*, 'water', and that *ตถะ* may be for *ตจ* l. 41, 'spring'—which also seems to have been in B's thought.

76—80. The spirit worship touched upon in these lines, is a most significant feature of the life of all the northern tribes of this peninsula down to the present time. In the south, though less obtrusive, it lies not far below the surface, and

crops up in unexpected quarters. It seems to be the survival of an aboriginal animism, long antedating both the Buddhist and the Brahmanical cults.

80. Having sketched his early life, his prosperous reign, the splendor of his capital and its surroundings, Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhāng turns to note what he considers the three most important events of his reign :—1) The preparation, consecration, and installation of four inscribed monuments of stone, of which we understand that our own was one. 2) The exhuming of the sacred relics of Buddha, their lying in state for the adoration of the faithful, the solemn reinterment of them, and the building of a great pagoda and temple to be their final resting place and shrine. 3) The invention of the art of writing. Highly significant of the measure and stature of the man himself is the choice he makes from among the achievements of what must have a stirring reign. Interesting too is his reversal of the order of time—already referred to, p. 9—to give the art of writing the place of honour at the end and climax of his story.

The era here used is not named, but it is certainly neither the Buddhist Religious Era nor the Little, or Civil, Era, which has prevailed in all civil records of later times. What is known of Sūkhothāi history from other sources leaves no doubt that the Era is the Great Era, Māha Sākkārat, beginning in 79 A. D. For an account of the many eras which have had currency in this peninsula to the confusion of historical studies, see Phongsawādan Yonōk, Introduction pp. 104—112. The date here given, (1293 A. D.) seems to be the real date of the inscription, though this is not distinctly said. The notes of time and sequence in the language—*ໄ* and *ໄ*, l. 82, make it clear that this was not the date of the planting of the palm grove, as B understands. S reads the last figure of the date wrongly 2 instead of 4. P has it right in his transliteration, but his translation reads 1314. The plain statement that 'the Prince planted these palm trees, S disposes of as follows :—"le seigneur de la célèbre ville de -- Sukhothai, la reconstruisit à nouveau.'

86. *ṇ* has already been noticed l. 25. *ໄ* is regularly a word of affirmation 'it is' or 'it was'. By a singular turn it has become a word of negation as well. In deliberate speech and writing, when the sense is negative, a negative particle

follows it at the end of the phrase : *หาใช่เป็นวันนั้นไม่*, "it was not that day". Colloquially, however, the negative is often entirely omitted, so that the statement becomes *หาใช่เป็นวันนั้น*—which is precisely what we have here. The idiom strikingly parallels the French idiom with 'pas' and other words. S has missed it altogether, but P understands it correctly : "*Cette lecture . . . ne se fait pas le jour où*" etc. It is interesting to note that a writer on this same inscription in the *Vajirañña Magazine*, p. 3576, l. 5, has exactly reversed S's mistake, making a positive clause negative. He glosses ll. 108—109 as follows : *หาเป็น ทว เป็น พระยา แก่โต ที่หลายไม่*.

88—89. The ceremony here must have been akin to to the present *ทิด นั้*

89—90. S renders as follows : "*Pendant un mois entier, selon la coutume, on fit des fêtes à installer l'éléphant blanc, qui fut nourri par les révoltés; on dora son beau palais. De même pour le taureau appelé Rupa Çri.*"—a somewhat surprising outcome from the two lines ! *กระพึด* is probably what is now known as *สวสพึด*, the howdah-fastenings. *สวพ* is probably provincial for *แขว* the hangings about the elephant's front. To this day central Lao either drops *r* altogether, or substitutes an *l* for it.

92. The reader will notice that the text nowhere distinctly says that the four inscriptions so abruptly spoken of here were engraved on the 'stone slabs' mentioned in l. 82. Yet unless we connect the writing with the slabs, there seems to be not the slightest reason for saying anything about either. But absolutely convincing on this point seem to be the words in l. 96 : *หาหินนี้*—which can mean nothing else than the very stone and the very inscription we are now studying. No suspicion, however, of any such idea crossed B's mind when he wrote "the flat stone called the Manangsila, in the form of an alms-bowl, is placed (as Dagob) above the relics, to close the foundation formed by the stone." The last clause is, of course, mere nonsense. Schmitt for a moment had a glimpse of the truth, and wrote : "*Cette pierre ci (la pierre de cette inscription même), nous appelons Manga (sic) -sila*". But later, when he came to edit P, he renounced it all; for he had committed himself to the theory that there was but one stone, and it was "*un trône*

en pierre", (l. 82). So he says here "la pierre qui ici sert de trône est appelée Mananga-Çila mâtira". This stone with its pyramid-top would make a "trône" less comfortable even than some we hear of now-a-days.

Of the places mentioned in this connection none have been identified save *ทลิ่ง*, which H.R.H. Prince Damrong tells me is the old name of เมือง ลอ, a town in the neighborhood of Nakhawnsāwān, situated at what was then the confluence of the two main branches of the Menam.

97. *มณิ*, 'thought' should rightly appear in the case-form *มโน*. But the Siamese, with no cases of its own, is not at all particular about the cases of Pali or Sanskrit words, regarding them as variant forms of the same word, among which it is at liberty to choose whichever it likes, without reference to the construction. *ปาท* 'that which receives'—the word which has become specialized to mean the bowl in which the priest receives alms of food.

98. The lack of explicit connection—which has been noted before as a perplexing feature of this writing,—leaves it uncertain whether the statement which begins at the head of this line; is an independent one, or is dependent upon *เห็น* 'see' as its object. If this last were the case, the proper connective would be *ที่* 'that'. Indeed, that word may have been there, though now lost in the break at the end of 97. To me there seems little reason for mentioning again the Prince's parentage, and the scope of the allegiance he claimed, unless it were to state the purpose for which the inscription was set up. I have therefore supplied 'that' in the translation, and perhaps should have supplied its equivalent in the transliteration also.

99. *ทว* (ทว) and *ลว* are well known names of northern peoples. *มา* I have not been able to identify. The river U is the great affluent from the north which falls into the Khong above Luang Phrābang. P translates here: "Tant ceux qui habitent les rives des cours d'eau, que ceux qui habitent la brousse."

100. *มาออก* is a very unusual phrase in such connection. B connects it with the preceding words, and translates: "were called out". S, assuming the same construc-

tion, but with different sense, says: "vinrent se réunir". P does not translate the words at all, evidently considering them as an introductory formula for the new date,—with which I heartily agree. Possibly we might save somewhat of the color of the expression if we were to say "When the year 1209 opened".

The nature of the Epilogue and the questions of its date and chirography have already been touched upon, pp. 15, 21, 23. The altered writing marks very visibly the opening of the new section in the middle of l. 108. The chief difficulties in the passage are those which concern the identification of places named. These have been for the most part satisfactorily solved, and the results so far attained have been embodied in the translation. There remain only ສູ້ຍາຈາຍ, ສະຕາ, and ສອດ. ສອດ is doubtless for ສພຣ, with the usual northern substitution of *l* for *r*. Phlua, which eluded earlier search, has been visited by Rev. Dr. McGilvary. It is now a little town on the upper reaches of the Nan river. ມ່ານ I am assured is found in old writings for ມ່ານ—but that should not justify P's alteration of the word in the text.

The following verbal points should be noticed:—The third word of 112 is incomplete, and so far nothing has been made of it. Since, however, it is plainly coupled with ສູ້ 'knowledge' in the carefully balanced triad of ll. 112—113, one cannot be far wrong in rendering it by some such word as 'insight'. Similarly ສະ at the end of 112 I have rendered 'ability' or 'force'. ສອດ 'saved,' rescued' ll. 115, 117, 121, seems used here in some sense rather more technical, but not precisely made out. One of my Lao friends tells me that in such connection it is the equivalent of ສູ້ 'unto'. Much the same is the case of the phrase ມ່ານ ທີ່ (or should it be ທີ່?) of ll. 116, 119, 123. In both cases I have had to content myself with a gloss. ສະ ລັ ລ. 123, may be introductory to the following statement—as S and P understand it,—instead of concluding to the preceding one, as I have considered it. In that case some word other than ສະ ລັ will have to be found for the gap in l. 119, where I have supplied ສະ ລັ as probably being part of a stereotyped recurrent phrase, identical with the one in l. 123.

I cannot think that the ringing eulogium of l. 111 ff., with its distinct personal note—placed as it is at the climax of this whole writing, and following without break upon what is said explicitly of Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhæng by name—could ever have been intentionally wasted upon a subject so vague and generalized as “*Les habitants du pays des Thais*”. The syntax, moreover, is wholly against any such reference. The phrase with which it begins, *แต่ คน อัน มี ใน เมือง ไทย*, cannot be the subject, since the introductory preposition *แต่* marks it plainly as adverbial—“*Of men that are in the Thai realm, . . . find a man to equal [him] you cannot*”. Some pronoun, of course, our western idiom compels us to supply; but it should be supplied as all sound principles of interpretation direct, and as the native inevitably supplies it in his thought, from the subject last spoken of—that is, the Prince. No one who had not first determined to make “*les Thais*” and “*les Aryens*” synonymous terms, would ever have thought of thrusting the Prince out of the place of honor reserved for him in this peroration.

WORD-LIST.

NOTES.—In preparing the following list it has been thought best to avoid any confusion which might arise from unfamiliar spellings, by presenting words still current in their current Siamese forms; though where the difference is considerable or the identification is at all doubtful, the form in the text has been preserved, and the modern equivalent has been added in brackets. Words no longer current either in Siamese or in Lao are marked obsolete. Those found only in the northern dialect are marked Lao. No attempt has been made to isolate elements common to Shan and Thai, nor the inherited Chinese element. For revision of doubtful etymologies I am specially indebted to Dr. O. Frankfurter of the National Library.

I. Words recognized as of foreign origin.

A. From the Sanskrit or Pali:—

กฐิน กุฎี เจติย ชด ไตรปิฎก ศรี เถร เทวดา ธรรม ชาติ
 ชาร มาต บุชา บริวาร ปราชญ์ ปราสาท พ้า (for พรรณ?) พาทย์
 พิณ พิหาร (วิหาร) พุทฺธ เพชรบุรี พด พระ มโนลิตาบาตร มหา
 มาศ ยัต รัตน ราชบุรี ราม รุจาศรี สถาปก สัทธา สมุท สังฆราช
 สาธนา ศรี สวัสดิพงศ์ ศรีธรรมราช ศรีสังฆาโดย สัต สุธาไทย
 ศก หงษาบดี อัญฐานรศ เนก (for ชเนก?) ธรณินิก อาจารย์
 อินทราทิตย อุบาสก (51). Also the following which are account-
 ed effectively naturalized:—กต (in ทั้งกต) คุรุ ชำ ตาด ทาน
 บุญ รุบ ภาษา เหว สาดา สี color. (11)

B. From the Cambodian:—กระพัง กระพัต (for สะพัต)
 จาฤก ทรง นาง บำเรอ มงค (?) (7). Also the following
 effectively naturalized:—ทเล ปราบ เล่มอ สร้าง หาญ ฮาจ (6).

C. Proper names not recognized as native, and not in-
 cluded under A. or B. above:—กา a people กุญ ขพุง a demon
 ไชย the river ชวา มา a people มแม มโรง กลุ่มบาจาย สกา
 อ the river (11).

II. Words apparently Thai or effectively naturalized :—

กัน แก้ว กิน กู แก่ ก็ กัก ก่อ ก่อน กอบ กระดาน กระดัง
 กระทำ กราน เกรง กลาง กลาว เกล็ดอื่น แก่ดัง แก้ว กว้า กว้าง
 ขับ *drive* ขับ *sing* เขา เข้า *rice* เข้า *enter* ข้ำ (ม) ขาม ข่าย
 ขี้ ขื่น ขุด ขุน ขอ ของ ข้อง ข่อย (for คอย ?) ขวา แขนง คำ
 คำ คำ คัม กู กระ obs. คน โคน ใคร ใคร่ ความ งา งาม
 เจื่อน (เงิน) งวง จะ จัก จำ ใจ เจ้า จาก จึ่ง เจม จู จม
 จอแจ obs. ไซ้ ช้าง ช่าง *artisan* ช้าง *is forever* (idiom) ช่าย
 ชาว ชื้อ เชื้อ ชั่ว ชอบ ช้ำ ช้าย ชื้อ ช้อน ชั่ว (ตั้ง) คับ คำ
 ไต่ ได้ ดี เดี่ยว เดือด เดือน ดู ด้วย แดน ดอก ตลาด ด้วน ตั้ง
 ได้ ตาย ดี ดั้น เตียม obs. ดู obs. ตัว เทม แฏ (แต่) แตก
 แฏ (แต่) ตก ตน ฏ่อ (ต่อ) ทั้ง ไท เท้า ท่าน ท้าว ที่ (ที่ ?)
 เทียง เทียน เทียรยอม *wholly* obs. ทก ทวย ทัว แท้ ทอ=ที่ obs.
 ทอง ท้อง ถัก ถาม ถิ่น ถาน. เถิง (ถึง) ถือ ถุก ถ้อย นึก
 ผนัง (ผนัง) ผนัง ผนัง น้ำ ใน นก หน้า น้ and น้ หนี ผนัง (ผนัง) เทียบ
 เทียบ นม น่อง นอน บ้าน เมีย เมื่อง บ่อ Lao ไป บ้า ปาก บี้
 บู้ บัว=บัว obs. เปน แปล ปก ประศุ ปลา ปลุก เผลา ผา ผิ *if* obs.
 ผิด ผี ผื่อ *I* obs. ผือก ผู้ แฉก *disagree* obs. ผั่ง ผั่ง ผ้ำ=

พ้า obs. ฝูง พัน พา พ่าย พี่ พัน *corvet* obs. เพ็ช เพ็ช พง
 พัน Lao แพ้ พัน โพบ (พวย) พ้อ ไพร (ม) พร้า พลั พลุ พัน
 ไฟ พ้า มั๊ก มั่น ไม้ มา ม้า หมาย มี มี เมีย เมื่อ เมือง (ม) ม่วง
 แม่ หมอน ผนัง (ยัง) ใหญ่ เย้า หึง ญิน (ยิน) ญิบ (หยิบ)
 เยีย obs. เยื่อน (ยิ่น) อยู่ ย่อม ญญา obs. ไร ไร เรียง เรียง
 เรียน เรือน รั้ง แรง รบ รอด รอบ ร้อย ทราย (ระยาง) ถัก ถัก
 หล้า ลาง Lao ลาน ลาย หลาย ลาว เลี้ยง เลือ obs.
 เลื่อน *carol* obs. ลูก ลูก *along* obs. ลูก หลวง เลก เล่น แล and

แต่ expletive part. แดง แด้ว ลง ถ้ม วัน ไว้ ให้ว วา วาง
 หว่าง หวาน เวียง Lao วัว สั้ง ใต้ สาม สิ้น สั้น สิบ สี่ เสี่ยง
 เสียด (หนัง) ลือ เลือ เลือก and เลิก (ศึก) ส่วน สูง สุด (สุด) แดง
 ดี (ดี) สอง and โสง สอน ให้ หั้น Lao=นั้น หา ห้า หาย หิน
 หัว head หัว laugh Lao เหน แห่ง หก อัน เอา อ้าย ออก and
 โอก โอย (อวย). And the following proper names:— คำแหง
 อยด ขเลี้ยง ตาก พระบาง แพรก พลัว แพล (แพร) ม่าน (น่าน)
 เวียงคำ เวียงจัน ลำพาย เลื่อง ล่องแคว ลระ หลวง 319

CORRIGENDA.

- P. 6, l. 23. For rock not yet precisely determined read slate-rock.
 P. 16, l. 25 ff. For the number 63 in the table read 62.
 " " " 317 " " " 319.
 " " " 404 " " " 405.
 P. 17, l. 8. For the number 334 in the table read 336.
 " " " 70 " " " 69.
 P. 22, l. 2. For Sangkhaburi read Sankhaburi (Müang San).
 P. 37, l. 6. To the words Royal Asiatic Society add of Bengal.

FIRST GENERAL MEETING.

A general meeting of the Siam Society was held at the Bangkok United Club on the evening of Tuesday, Feb. 2nd. Dr. O. Frankfurter, President in the chair, when Professor Bradley read his paper on the "Oldest Known Siamese Writing" before a large audience.

In introducing the writer of the paper, the President said:—To every one acquainted with our local history the name of "Bradley" is known. Dr. Bradley arrived in Bangkok in the reign of King Phra Nang Klao in the year 1835. He lived throughout that reign and the reign of King Mongkut and died in the present reign in 1873, after having recorded in his Calendar and other publications what was noteworthy in Siamese customs and history. Through his profession he was brought into contact with all sorts and conditions of men and what strides have been made in the knowledge of surgery in Siam we owe to him. He it was who first introduced vaccination, and through him and the American Missionaries was also introduced the art of printing, and Bradley's editions of the Kotmai, the Phongsavadan, etc., are known to all interested in literature. Thus in introducing his son, Professor Bradley, my task is an easy one. "*Stet magni nominis umbra.*" Professor Bradley was born in Bangkok in the reign of Phra Nang Klao in 1843, he lived in Bangkok nearly through the whole reign of Phra Chom Klao, he went to America and Europe and arrived in Bangkok again early in the present reign, and finally left for the United States in 1872. His interest in Siam, however, never flagged, as shown by his papers on Siamese grammar and phonology, and, to sound a more personal note, one might speak of the care he took of the Siamese students who were studying at California University.

Professor Bradley has kindly consented to read before us a paper on one of the famous Siamese inscriptions of Sukhothai which was brought to Bangkok in 1834 by King Mongkut whilst he was in the priesthood. It is a typical Buddhist inscription, recording, not so much deeds of war

and conquest, but the happiness which the people of the realm enjoyed in the reign of Phra Ramkamheng, what he did for the culture of the people, how he understood the Buddhist religion, what are the maxims of Government by which he was guided, how he was the first to use the written Thai characters for records. The inscription already shows all the characteristics of later Siamese, its fondness for poetry and couplets so that also in this respect it is a most valuable document. Of course attempts have been made to explain it. We have first a version given by Professor Bastian in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XXXIV. (1864). He simply recorded what the scholars in King Mongkut's reign told him; no attempt was made to elucidate doubtful points, and he did not publish the original version by which to control it. We have also in Bowring's Siam a short reference to this inscription. But the first scholar who seriously attempted an explanation was the late Père Schmitt. He gave two different versions, first in the *Excursions et Reconnaissances* vol. VII, and later in the *Mission Pavie*, Paris, 1898. There are small differences in the translation, and we must admire the diligence bestowed on it, but the Rev. Father can scarcely escape the reproach that in his explanations he was influenced by the Aryan Theory. Siamese versions and explanations have likewise been published but, unfortunately, as we all know, for the western scholar things written in Siamese, *Græca sunt non legitur*. The real value of the inscription will be shown to us by Professor Bradley in his paper.

Professor Bradley then read his paper.

At the conclusion of the paper the President said:—In the very interesting paper to which we have just had the pleasure of listening, and for which in the name of this Society it is my duty to express to Professor Bradley our heartfelt thanks, Professor Bradley has shown in one concrete example, certainly the most prominent one of which we know at present, what treasure is still unexplored, what rich harvest may still be found in the deserted cities of Siam, to serve as documents for the history of progress and civilisation. He has shown us, I take it, also, the necessity which exists to collect these inscriptions and to incorporate them in the Corpus Inscript-

tionum Siamensium. That this hope of scholars both Eastern and Western will soon be fulfilled we have, however, good reasons to believe. Already excavations are made in old cities, the inscriptions found are collected and preserved from the inclemency of the weather. We have in Siam no written records of ancient Kings, or rather, we should say, they have not yet been traced. What therefore remains are the inscriptions in which the Kings and people recorded their pious deeds, and in collecting them, it will become true what the poet said, perhaps in another sense :—

“ Wenn Menschen schweigen, werden Steine reden.”

Mr. R. W. Giblin in seconding the motion said :—
 “ I have much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks so happily proposed by our President.

Professor Bradley's account of the inscribed stone and his translation of the inscription will always rank very highly in the records of this Society. They will be published in the Journal almost immediately and so reach those who have not been able to attend this meeting. I think that I shall be expressing the wish of all the members of the Society present to-night in stating that Professor Bradley's able paper should be the first of such a series as will embrace all the inscriptions which have been found in Siam up to date, and those others, as they are brought to light, which our President has indicated yet remain to be discovered.

It may be said that those inscriptions which have already been copied have been deciphered and the translations published, and Dr. Frankfurter has referred to that Corpus Inscriptionum Siamensium (not yet in being) which should contain copies of the known inscriptions. But the point I wish to make is that it will be worth while to publish in the Journal of this Society even those translations which have been made, with illustrations or copies of the inscriptions themselves. Professor Bradley has shown in the case of the Sukotai stone that it has been possible to improve on former readings of it, and if that achievement is not to be accomplished in every case, the publication of inscriptions in the Journal, with their translations, will be of the greatest interest to those of us who have not the learning to decipher, while to those who can do so the means will be increased of indulging in the exercise of their science and skill.

I am able to state that a copy of a Lao inscription not, I believe, hitherto published, will presently be printed for the Journal of the Society; and Dr. Hansen, who is present here to-night, has been good enough to promise that his translation of it, first done into Siamese, will be done into English by him, so that it may be printed and appear with the illustrations."

Dr. Hansen remarked that there were a great number of inscriptions in the North, which he believed had never been published or translated.

The vote of thanks was cordially passed, and those present afterwards inspected the rubbings of the Sukhothai inscription which were on view, and the meeting terminated.

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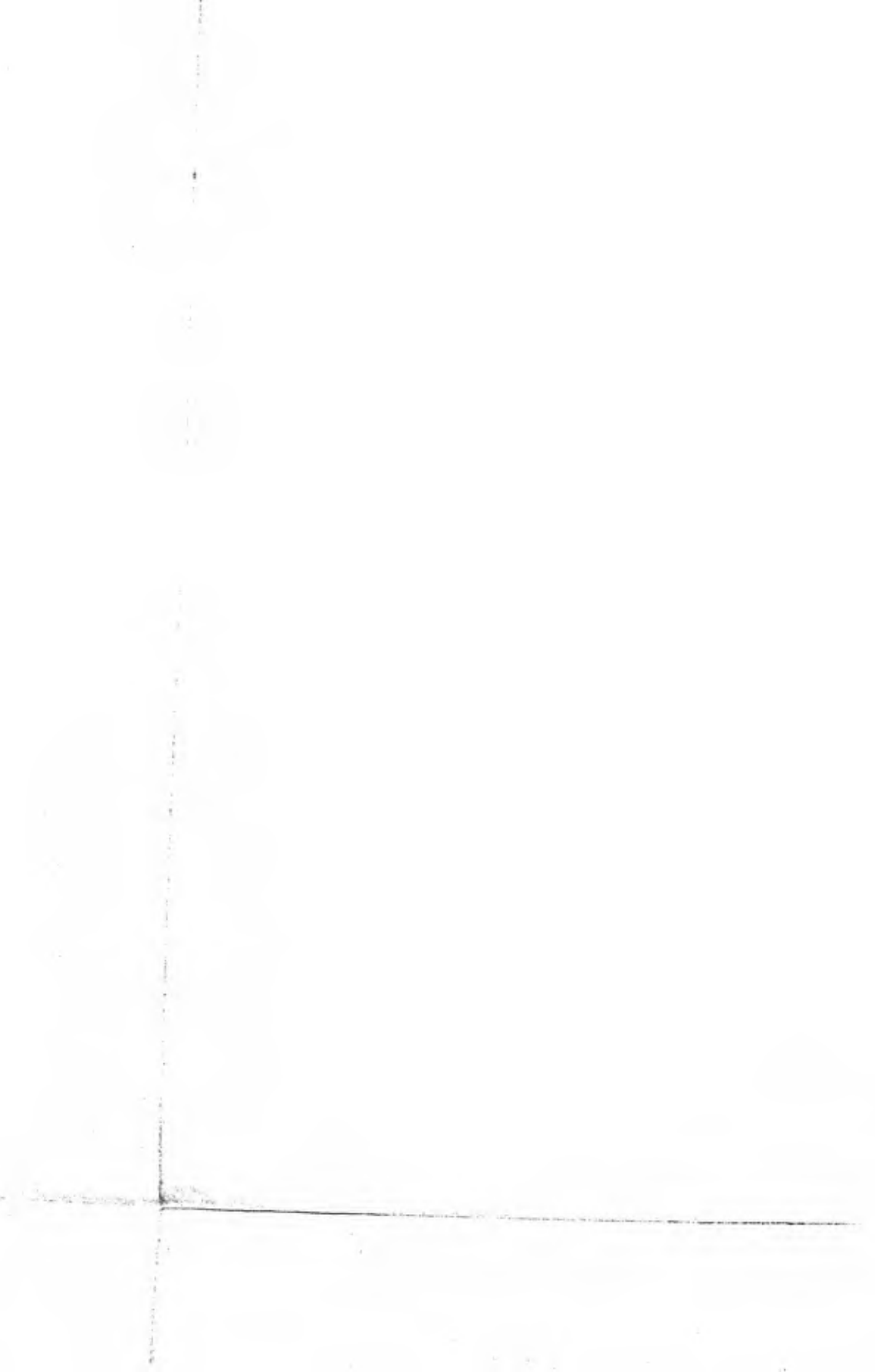
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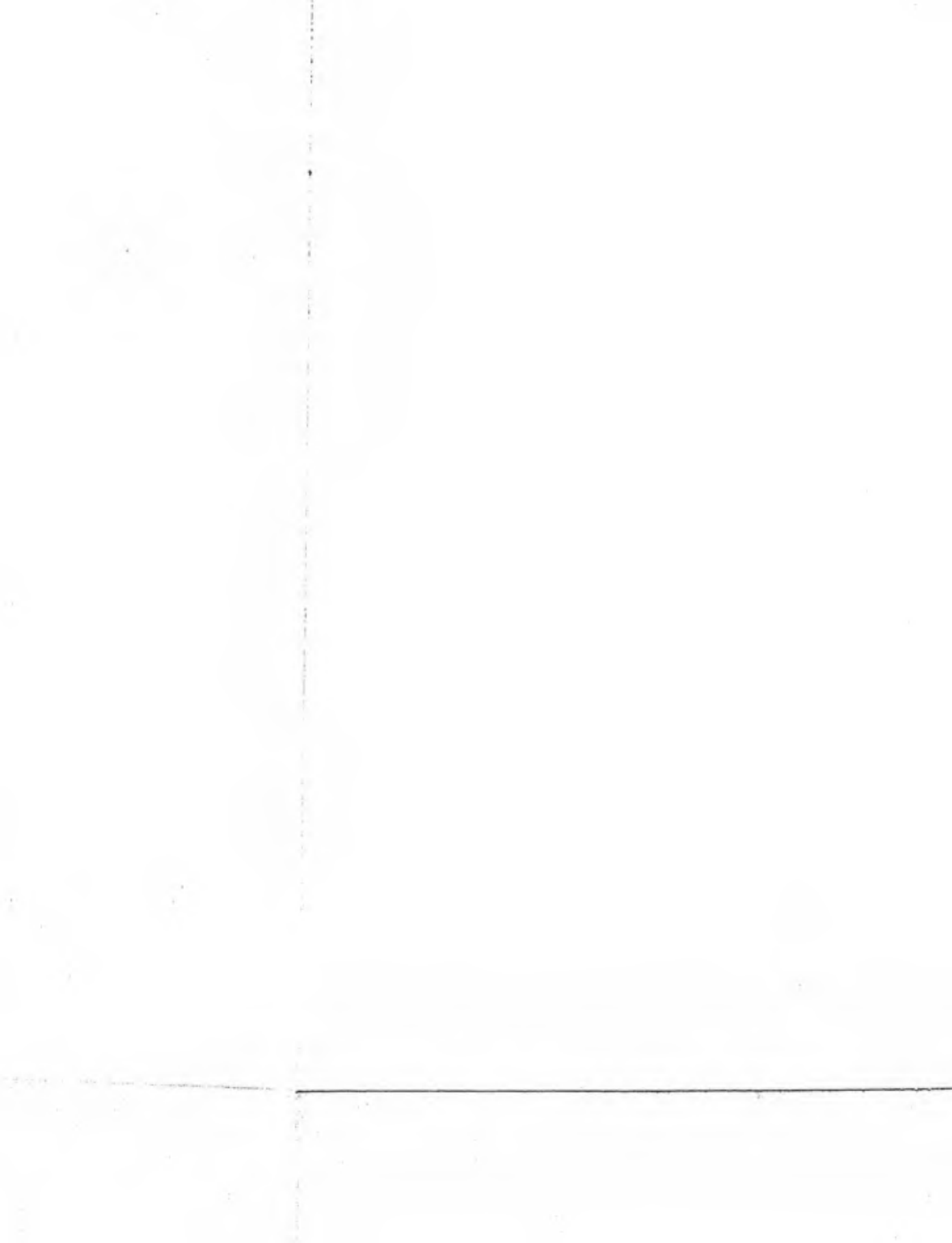
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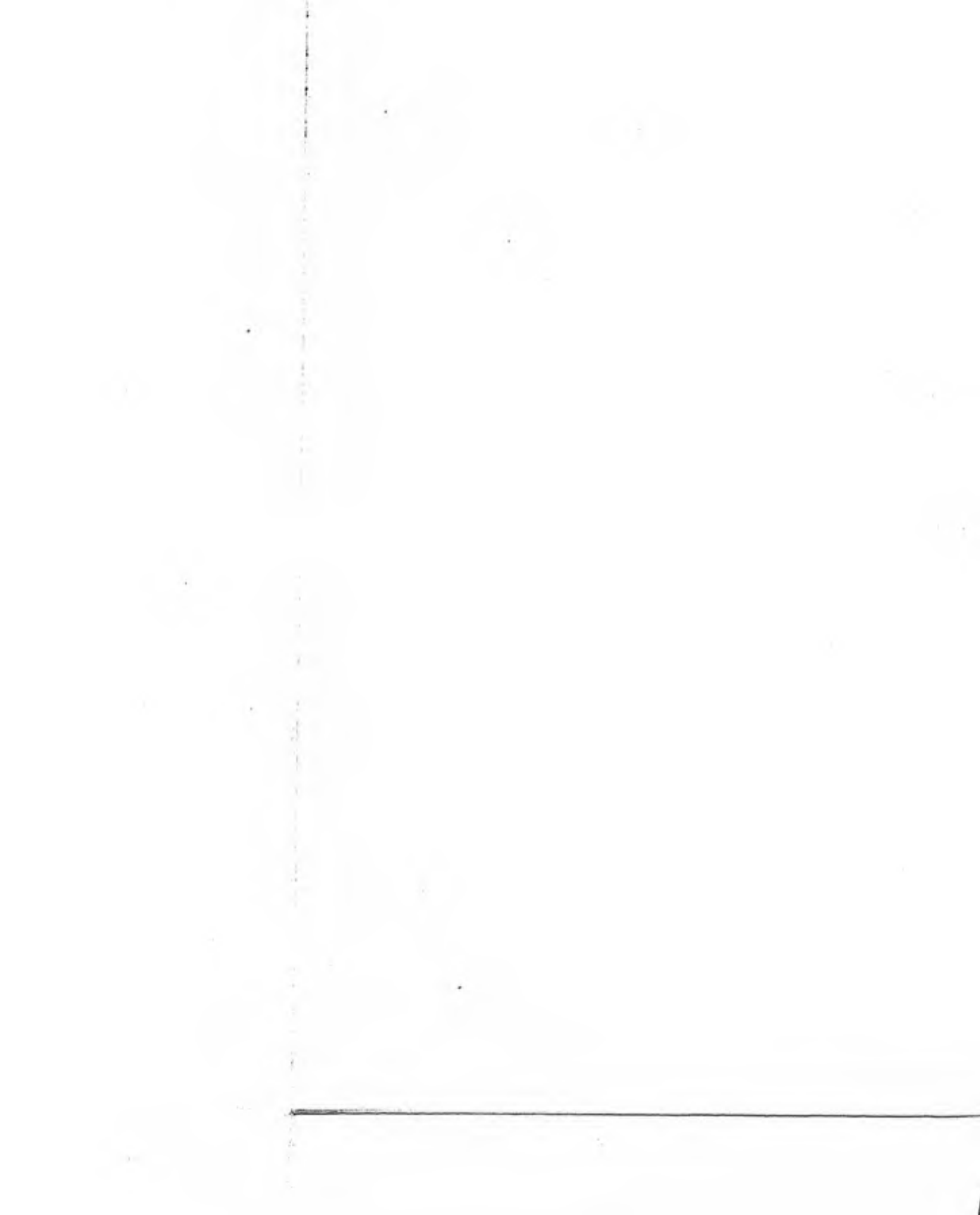
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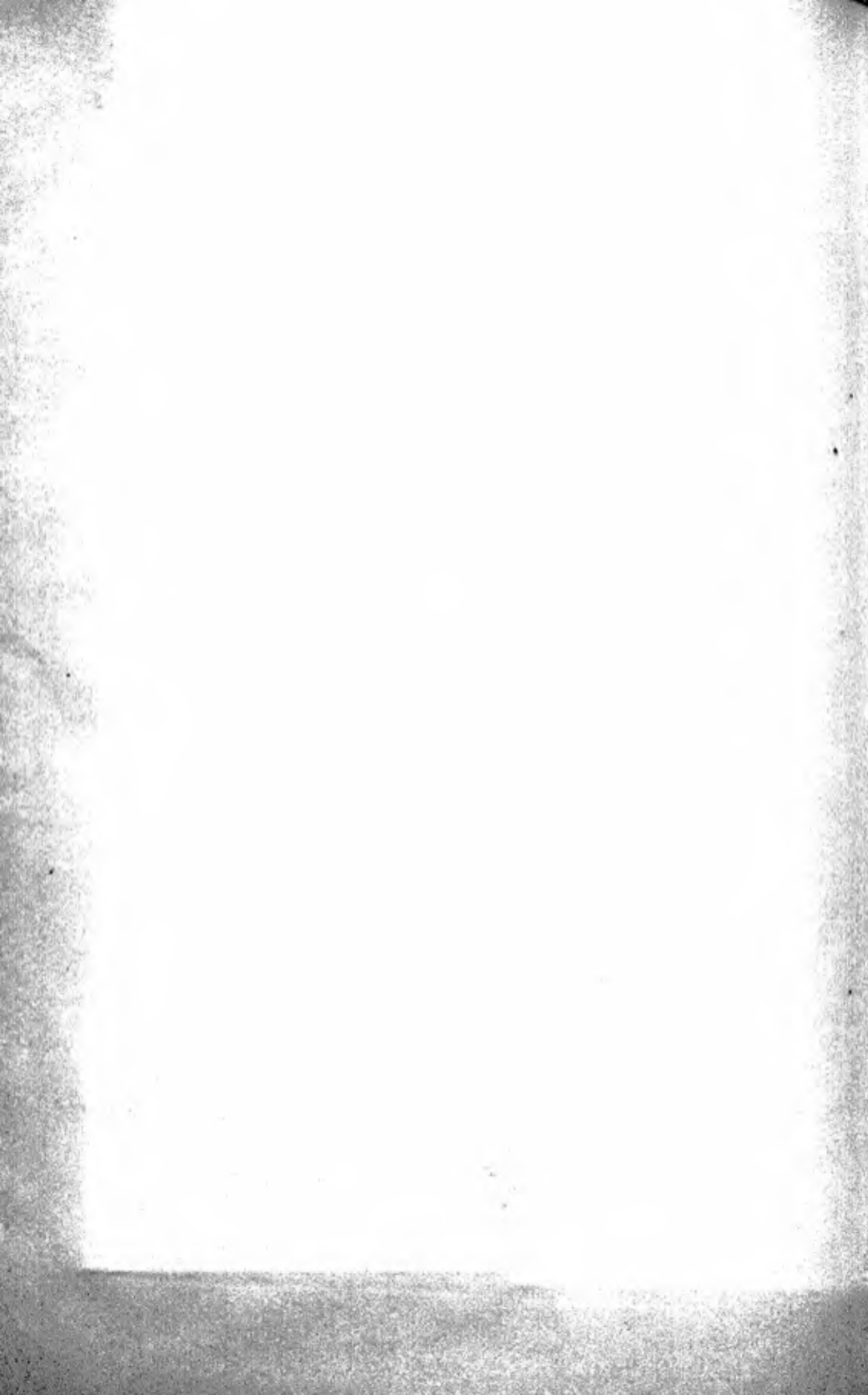
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* Died, February 21st, 1909.

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THE Society does not admit any responsibility on its part for the views expressed by the contributors individually. In transliteration each author has followed his own system.

EVENTS IN AYUDDHYA

FROM

CHULASAKARAJ 686—966.

A TRANSLATION

from the

พระราชพงษาวดาร กรุงเก่า

ฉบับหลวง ประเสริฐอักษรนิติ์

By

O. FRANKFURTER, PH. D.



INTRODUCTION.

In giving a translation of the MS. printed under the auspices of the Committee of the Vajirañāṇa National Library dealing with the history of Siam, or rather Ayuddhya, from Chulasakaraj 686-966 (1804-1604), designated by the title of "Phra Rajaphongsavadan Krung Kao Chabab Hluang Prasūt," it may not be out of place to state briefly what are the indigenous sources of Siamese history as now existing.

In the reign of the King Phra Buddha Yot Fa, in the year 1795, a history of Siam was compiled from old sources, the authorship of which is ascribed to Krom Mūn Mahisvarindrāmes. On this was based the history written in 1840, in the reign of Phra Nang Klao, by Prince Vasukri, known afterwards as Somdet Phra Paramanujit, and under the auspices of King Mongkut this latter version was printed in the printing office of Dr. Bradley in 1865. This history contains the history of Siam from the establishment of Ayuddha as the Capital to its destruction by the Burmans in 1767, to which was added as an appendix the history of Khun Hluang Tak and of the first years of the reign of the founder of the present dynasty Phra Buddha Yot Fa.

We read in the Chinese Repository, vol. 11. (1833-1834), page 478 :—

"Klin, a young native who was formerly employed as Siamese compositor in the printing office at Singapore, has been for some time past engaged in preparing types from such materials as that country affords, and he is now making preparations to print the Siamese history in 25 volumes. The amount of each volume will be the contents of one of the Siamese black books which are formed of thick paper folded backwards and forwards into from 30 to 35 folds."

In the same magazine, vol. 5 (1836-1837) up to vol. 7 (1838-1839), a translation of the Siamese history was printed, commencing A. D. 1857 up to 1639. This translation was made by the Rev. Dr. J. Taylor Jones, and its very literalness leaves no doubt about its genuineness. This translation does only to a certain extent agree with the two versions mentioned, and it might therefore be well to refer to the fact that in the Bangkok Calendar for 1860

a list of the Kings of Siam is given described as taken from an accredited copy of the history of the Kings as preserved in the Royal Archives. But already in the Bangkok Calendar of 1862 the following note is found :—

“The Kings of Siam

“From the time the old City Ayuddhya was built,

“Chula Era 712, A. D. 1351.

“Furnished by Phra Alak, the Chief of the King’s Scribes, and doubtless with the approbation of His Majesty, designed by him we think, to correct the list of the Kings published in the Calendar for 1860.”

These versions are based on tradition and on the very short and meagre records which were afterwards embodied in the yearly calendars (phum). In these phums were recorded what appeared to every person the most notable events; these phums, however, are only partly preserved, and as they were only to serve as a memorandum of events the persons noting them down deemed it in most cases sufficient to give the results.

The history of Siam is what its name implies, a record of the reigning families. Siam is feudal country. The nobility existing is not a hereditary one, but simply an official. The persons holding an office are designated by the office they hold, and they have consequently, so to say, no individuality, and we have consequently also no family records, which would usefully supplement those existing of the Royal Race.

Events are recorded without giving details, and in very many instances missing links have to be supplied by implication.

Besides these phums it is stated that Pāli versions of the history existed under the name of Culavyuha and Mahāvyuha, but up to now the manuscripts have not been traced.

Complete foreign versions of the history of Siam in early times do not exist. The foreigners who came to Siam, came for the purpose of trade and necessarily everything was viewed from this standpoint. They were in most cases unacquainted with the language and were not received in Court circles, and had to rely on

the gossip of the bazaar which reached them necessarily in a distorted form. Nevertheless these foreigners all agree that, for reasons variously explained by them, the Siamese had no historical records, and we may in support quote Jeremias Van Vliet, chief of the Dutch factory in 1636, who, in his description of Siam, printed, Leyden, 1692, says :—

“ However much old chronicles and trustworthy historians of the past, are witnesses of the times, councillors for the present and signposts for the future, the Siamese have little knowledge thereof. The position, Government, power, religion, manners and customs and other remarkable things of foreign or outlandish nations are unknown to them, they have also no curiosity to inquire into them : of antiquities of their country, of the beginning of war, of the conclusion of peace, of the loss of countries and towns, victories or defeats in battles, famous heroes or excellent persons in virtue and knowledge, etc., they have few descriptions, thus that their principal descriptions consist in the laws of the country, the fundamentals of their religion, the lives, deeds and praise of some dead kings whose fame was not so much based on Royal respect as on service rendered to the gods, temples and priests living in their country, and these descriptions were mostly committed to the care of the priests, by whom also their ceremonies, punishments, exhortations, consolations and instructions are formed. Thus amongst the nobility, the rich or civil population, not many chronicles or historical records are known, with exception of those which are reported verbally or are related in discourses. ”

Without attaching any undue weight to anything noted down by Père Tachard it may also perhaps be worth recording the entry which he made under date November 19th, 1685. He writes :—

“ Je ne vous ai pas dit que M. l'Ambassadeur obtint hier une chose qui sera fort agréable au Roi. C'est les chroniques du Royaume de Siam.

“ Il y'a peine de la vie à les avoir chez soi et sa Majesté les accorda agréablement quand on lui dit que cela feroit plaisir au Roi. ”

These chronicles have, however, up to now not been traced.

With regard to the history before the foundation of Ayudhya, which is recorded in the Phongsavadan Muang Nua and of which a version has been printed in 1870, it can only be considered as throwing a general light on the history.

It is well known that the Kings and chiefs of principalities were eager to connect their history and that of the people over which they governed with events recorded in the legends of the Buddha. The Jataka tales were freely put under contribution, as has been pointed out by the late Phya Prajakit, who in the Phongsavadan Yonok published just before his death gave many details.

The names of cities and towns are mostly of Indian origin, and we find additional difficulties in locating them in the fact that when cities had to be abandoned, as often as not, on account of the dearth of water, or the river bed changing, or through invasions, the new places to which the people emigrated received the old names. Besides the Indian names the original names are sometimes preserved. There is therefore some difficulty in fixing the position of the towns mentioned, and it has for this reason been deemed more advisable not to attempt the location in this translation.

Omens and portents play of course a large part in the events recorded, and in all instances these omens and portents can be traced to Indian folklore and religious belief or superstitions. For their explanation in the present version I am indebted to Hluang Lokadip.

With regard to the style of our version attention may perhaps be drawn to the euphemisms used for events which in common language would be described as adultery, conspiracy and murder. It is also interesting to note the large part played by Phitsnulok as second capital.

The dates given in the new version do not agree with those given in the Bradley edition, which however agree with those recorded in the history of Burma and Cambodia. Now that would appear to militate against the genuineness of the new version, if it were not that the Burmese and Cambodian chronicles were compiled at a date considerably later than our present version.

The dates given at the margin of the translation are those under which events are seemingly recorded in the Phra Raj Phong-savadan: in some instances, however, there are discrepancies in fact, such as in the record of the elephant fight of the Queen Suriyothai.

I greatly regret that in transcribing names of places and persons inconsistencies have not been avoided.



PREFACE

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

PRINCE DAMRONG RAJANUBHAB.

Hluang Prasūt Aksornit * (Phē Barien) found in a private house the present "history" and presented it to the National Library on the 19th January, 1907.

From the book it appears that it was compiled in Chula 1042, in the reign of King Narayana. The contents agree to a certain extent with the summary prefaced to the edition of the History by Somdet Phra Baramanujit; but in many places there are differences, and in some instances it appears that the present version is the more correct one. Thus in the reign of Phra Paramatrailokanat the former versions state, that the King reigned in Ayuddhya, where he erected the temple Chulamāni in which he entered as a priest and in which he remained for 8 months. Investigations made showed that no temple of the name Chulamāni existed in Ayuddhya, and the temple could not be located. Now in the present version it is stated that Phra Paramatrailokanat proceeded to Phitsnulok, where he reigned and erected the temple Chulamāni and entered the Priesthood and afterwards died. Now a temple Chulamāni exists in Phitsnulok, and this may serve as a proof of the correctness of the present version.† Furthermore in the wars with the King of Pegu, in the reign of the King Mahācakravatti, the other histories do not record the name, so that it had to be inferred that only one King of Pegu waged war with Ayuddhya. The Burmese records speak, however, of two Kings, and our present version also speaks about two Kings in accordance with the Burmese annals.

* At present Phra Pariyati Dharmadhātā.

† See Appendix.

The present history is written in a folding book in yellow characters on black paper. To judge from the writing it appears to have been written either during the last years in Ayuddhya or at the beginning of the Bangkok period. It would also appear that it formerly consisted of two books, but so far only one has been recovered.

On examination it appeared to the Committee that both diction and writing showed that it was a genuine version, and no alterations were made in it, orders being given to print it so that it might not be lost. The present edition is an exact reprint of the MS. Where a word or passage could not be read, it has been left blank ; where there was indistinct writing, the words have been put in brackets.



Events In Ayuddhya

From Chulasakaraj 686—966.

May it be of good omen.

In the year of the monkey, Chulasak 1042, on Wednesday the 12th of the 5th waxing moon, His Majesty was pleased to give orders to produce the records formerly written by Phra (Hora) and such other records as could be found in the Library and also the Phongsavadan and to incorporate all in this "History" and to copy and arrange them according to dates up to the present time.

In the Chula era 686, the year of the rat, the Buddha statue in the temple Phaneng Chöng was first erected.

In the Chula era 712, the year of the tiger, on (Friday the sixth of the waxing fifth month), at 9.54 a.m., the foundation of Ayuddhya was laid.

In the Chula era 731, the year of the cock, the foundation of Wat Phra Rām was laid. At that time the King Phra Rāmādhīpati died, and he was followed in the Government by his son Somdet Phra (Rāme)suan. However in 732, the year of the dog, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhīraj came from Suphanpuri and took the sceptre in Ayuddhya, and he appointed Phra Rāmesuen to the Government of Lophburi.

In 733, the year of the pig, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhīraj proceeded to the North and conquered all cities.

In 734, the year of the rat, the King proceeded to Mīang Nakhon Phangkha and Sēngchārao, which he conquered.

In 735, the year of the bull, the King proceeded to Chākan- (grao), and the (Phya) Sai Keo and Phya Kham Heng, the chiefs

of Chākangrao, offered resistance. He had Phya Sai Kēo executed, whilst Phya Kham Heng and his army fled and were able to reach the city. The King with his army then returned.

In 736, the year of the tiger, the King Phra Paramarājā- (dhirāj.) and the High Priest Dharmākalyāna laid the foundation of the Sriratnamahādhatu, to the east of the Palace, at the height of 1 sen and 3 wahs up to the window.

In the year 737, the year of the rabbit, the king took the city of Phitsnulok and he made Khun Sām Keo, the chief, a prisoner, and many people left at that time.

In 738, the year of the dragon, the King conquered the city of (Chākangrāo). At that time Phya Khām Heng and Thao Phādong conspired to resist the army of the King, but could not do so, and Thao Phādong disbanded his army and fled. The King followed them with his army and defeated them. At that time many of the chiefs and officials were made prisoners. The army of the King then returned.

In (740), the year of the horse, the King again conquered Chākangrāo, and at that time Mahādharmarājā [of Chiengmai] tried to resist the King's army, but as he saw he could not do so, he paid homage.

742. In 748, the year of the tiger, the King conquered Chiengmai but he could not take Mūang Nakhon Lamphang: he then had a letter addressed to Mūn Nagara, the chief of Nakhon Lamphang, who thereupon paid homage to him and the King's army returned.

744. In 750, the year of the dragon, the King conquered Chākangrāo. At that time the Paramarājādhirāj fell very ill, and returning he died on the way. The Chao Thong Lan, his son, assumed the sceptre of Ayuddhya for seven days. Then, however, Phra Rāmesuan came with an army from Lophburi and assumed the sceptre at Ayuddhya, and he ordered the execution of Chao Thong Lan.

In 757, the year of the pig, the King Phra Rāmesuan died and his royal son Chao Phraya Rām assumed the sceptre.

749. In 771, the year of the bull, Somdet Phra Rām was incensed against the Minister's conduct and tried to arrest him. The Minister, however, was able to escape, and he stopped on the opposite bank at Padāguchām. This Prince Minister then approached Somdet Phra (Indr)arājā, the chief of Suphan, offering him the sceptre of Ayuddhya. When Somdet Phra Indrarājā arrived, the Minister raised

an army, and plundered and conquered Ayuddhya. He then invited his Majesty Phra Indrarājā to assume the sceptre and he appointed Somdet Phraya Rām chief of Padāgūchām.

765. In 781, the year of the pig, a report was spread that the Phra Mahadharmarājādhirāj [of Chiengmai] was dead and that all northern cities were in a state of unrest. His Majesty proceeded to Mīang Phra Bang,* and at that time the chief of the city and Phraya Rām paid homage.

780. In 786, the year of the dragon, Phra Indrarājā fell ill and died. At that time his eldest and second sons (Chao Ai Phraya and Chao Yi Phraya) fought each other on elephants on the bridge Pā Thān and both died in the fight. Then the third son assumed the crown in Ayuddhya and took the name of the Paramarājādhirāj. He built two shrines in memory of his brothers at the place where they had fought and died at Pā Thān. In the same year he erected Wat Rājbuṇa.

783. In 793, the year of the pig, the Somdet Paramarājā conquered (Nakhon Luang,) and he then appointed his son Phra Nakhon Indr to hold sway over it. At that time the King ordered Phraya Kēo and Phraya Thāi to bring all images to Ayuddhya.

786. In 800, the year of the horse, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj built the temple Maheyong in memory of his accession and Somdet Phra Rāmesuan, his Royal son, proceeded to Phitsnulōk, and it was then noticed that blood flowed from the eyes of the Buddha Jinarāj.

788. In 802, the year of the monkey, a fire broke out in the Rajmandira.

789. In 803, the year of the cock, a fire broke out in the palace Trīmukh.

790. In 804, the year of the dog, Somdet Paramarājādhirāj went on an expedition to Chiengmai, but he could not conquer the city as he fell ill, and he returned with his army.

792. In 806, the year of the rat, the King suppressed the contending factions, and erected a camp at Pathāi Khasem, and after having made 120,000 prisoners of war, the army returned.

796. In 810, the year of the dragon, Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj died and he was succeeded by his son Phra Ramesuan, who took the name of Somdet Phra Paramatrailok.

* Near Nakhon Sawan, on the old river-bed.

In 813, the year of the goat, the King [of Chiengmai] conquered Chākangrāo and wanted to take Sukhothai, but as he could not conquer the city he returned with the army.

802. In 816, the year of the dog, many people died from a pernicious fever.

803. In 817, the year of the pig, the King prepared an army to conquer Malākā, [the Malay peninsula.]

804. In 818, the year of the rat, the King prepared an army to conquer Muang Lisobthin. At that time the King reinforced the army and established his headquarters at Khôn.

805. In 819, the year of the bull, rice was at famine prices amounting to 800 cowries, equal to one fuang, for one measure, and a cartload was sold at 250 ticals.

806. In 820, the year of the tiger, religious festivities were held and 500 statues of the Bodhisat showing his 500 births were cast.

808. In 822, the year of the dragon, plays were performed and large gifts were bestowed on the Buddhist Priests, the Brahmins and the hermits, as an inauguration of the Buddha statues. At that time Phraya Salieng* created a rebellion and went with all his retainers to the Maharāj [of Chiengmai.]

809. In 823, the year of the snake, Phraya Salieng led the army of the King of Chiengmai to conquer Phitsnulok, but as the expedition was not successful, he went on a roving expedition to Kamphengphet. As he was not able to conquer the city within seven days, the Maharāj returned with his army to Chiengmai.

In 824, the year of the horse, the Chief of Nakhon Thai with all his followers emigrated to Nān; then the Phraya Kralahom received orders to bring them back. He also went with his army to Sukhothai, which city was reduced to submission as of old.

In 825, the year of the goat, the Somdet Phra Paramatrailok reigned in Phitsnulok, whilst the king under the name of Somdet Paramarāj reigned in Ayuddhya. At that time the Maharāj [of Chiengmai] sent his son on an expedition for the conquest of Sukhothai. Then the Somdet Phra Paramatrailok and Somdet Indrarājā prepared for resistance, and the Somdet Phra Rājā defeated the army of Phraya Thien, and his army encountered the army of Mūn Nakhon and he entered on a fight on elephants with him. At that time there were great disturbances and the Laosian soldiers

* See Bradley. Journal Siam Society, Vol. vi, page 59.

- surrounded with four elephants the royal elephant. Somdet Phra Indrarājā was wounded in the face by a bullet and then the army of the Maharāj returned.
810. In 826, the year of the monkey, the Somdet Phra Paramatrailok built the temple Chulā Mani. [in Phitsnulok].
811. In 827, the year of the cock, the Somdet Phra Paramatrailok entered the priesthood at Wat Chulā Mani, which he left after 8 months.
813. In 830, the year of the rat, the Maharaj Thao Bun seized the city of Chiangmai from Thao Luk.
815. In 833, the year of the rabbit, a white elephant was procured.
816. In 834, the year of the dragon, a prince was born to the King.
- In 835, the year of the snake, Hmūn Nakhon presented gold threads to cover the sword [acknowledged the sovereignty].
818. In 836, the year of the horse, the King conquered Salieng.
- In 837, the year of the goat, the Maharaj of Chiangmai asked for relations of friendship to be established.
821. In 839, the year of the cock, the foundation of Nakhon Thai was laid.
822. In 841, the year of the pig, Phra Siha Rajadejo died.
824. In 842, the year of the rat, Phrayā Lān-Chāng died and the royal consent was given for the appointment of Phraya Sai-Khāo as prince of Lān-Chāng.
826. In 844, the year of the tiger, festivities were held for 15 days for the inauguration of the Phra Sri Ratna Mahādhātu [and the King composed the Mahājāti.]
- In 845, the year of the rabbit, the Somdet Phra Paramarājā went to the elephant enclosure at Sai Yoi.
828. In 846, the year of the dragon, Somdet Phra Jethādhirāj, elder brother of the king, and the son of Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj entered the priesthood.
829. In 847, the year of the snake, the King's son left the priesthood and was established in the dignity of Phra Mahāuparāj [Crown Prince.]
830. In 848, the year of the horse, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj went to reside at the elephant enclosure in Samriddhi Pūrna.
831. In 849, the year of the goat, the son of the Mahārāj [of Chiangmai] died.

832. In 850, the year of the monkey, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj proceeded to the conquest of Thavai, and whilst the city was being taken many strange events happened. A calf was born with eight feet; from one egg a chicken was hatched with four feet; from three eggs six chickens were hatched; the rice was sprouting into leaf and the same year Somdet Phra Paramatrailok died [*in Phitsnulok.*]

834. In 852, the year of the dog, the foundation of the walls of Bichai was laid.

835. In 853, the year of the pig, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj died and was succeeded by Phra Jethādhirāj, his elder brother, in Ayuddhya, and he took the name of Phra Rāmādhībodi.

836. In 854, the year of the rat, he erected a shrine to the memory of Phra Paramatrailok and Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj.

838. In 858, the year of the dragon, the King conformed to the five Buddhist Commandments, and he ordered the old plays to be performed.

839. In 859, the year of the snake, he had the festival of the first initiation into Brahmanism performed.

841. In 861, the year of the goat, he built the Vihāra of Wat Sri Sanphet.

841. In 862, the year of the monkey, he gave orders for the casting of the Phra Sri Sanphet. It was commenced on Sunday the 8th of the waxing 6th month, and in 865, the year of the pig, on Friday the 11th of the waxing eight month the statue was dedicated. The dimensions were from the feet to the crest 8 wahs and the face was 4 sok long and three sok wide, the breast 11 sok. The metal used weighed 53,000 catties, the gold for covering the statue weighed 286 catties, the gold was of a fineness in front of seven and behind of six. *

In 877, the year of the pig, on Tuesday the 15th of the 11th waxing moon, in the morning, at the auspicious moment of 8.20 a.m. † the King proceeded to Na(khon) Lam(phang), which he conquered.

860. In 880, the year of the tiger, the King dedicated the Buddha Statue of Phra Sri Sanpet to commemorate his reign; the art of war was composed for the first time and he made a (census) of the whole population.

* Gold of the first quality is of a fineness of nine.

† i. e. ဂဏှာ နာရီ the thieves' propitious hour, the moment apt for beginning valiant deeds.

366. In 886, the year of the monkey, the large right (tusk) of the elephant Chao Phraya Prāb was broken. (Many anonymous letters) were written and many nobles were executed.

368. In 887, the year of the cock, - - - - - there were also many earthquakes and many portents occurred. In the commencement of the year 888, the year of the dog, rice was sold at the rate of 3 measures for one fuang equal to 800 cowries; a cartload was sold at 104 ticals. The Royal son Buddhāngkur was raised to the position of Uparāj, and he was to govern Phitsnulok.

371. In 891, the year of the bull, a strange white appearance in the sky * was seen stretching from the South-West to the North-West. On Sunday the 8th of the 12th waxing moon the Somdet Phra Rāmāthibodi proceeded to the audience hall in the Palace, and he died the same night. The Somdet Phra Adit succeeded in the Government of Ayuddhya, and took the name of Somdet Phra Paramarājā No Buddhāngkur.

375. In 895, the year of the snake, Soundet Phra Buddhāngkur died and his son succeeded him.

376. In 896, the year of the horse, an accident befell the youthful king and then the Kingdom was handed over to Phra Jayarājādhirāj.

380. In 900, the year of the dog, in the sixth month the ground was levelled for Wat Chi-Chieng, and a Buddha statue and a cheti were erected. In the eleventh month the King proceeded to Chiengkrai and Chiengkrān, and on the 9th of the waxing 4th month, about 9 p.m., a violent storm arose and the heads of the Royal boats were damaged, and the bow of the boat Om Kēo Sēn Mīang was broken and the boat Krai Kēo was destroyed.

When the king arrived at Kampengphet he found that Phraya Nārāyana was a traitor, so he arrested and executed him there.

387. In 907, the year of the snake, on Wednesday the 4th of the seventh waxing moon the King Soundet Phra Jayarājādhirāj proceeded to Chiengmai; he made Phraya Phitsnulok commander of the vanguard and established his headquarters at Rāng Bān. On Saturday the 14th of the 7th waxing moon the army of the King raised camp and left for Kampengphet, where they arrived on Tuesday the 9th of the 7th waning moon. He established his army at Kampengphet, and on Sunday the 14th of the 7th waning moon he had his army established at Chiengthong, from where he proceeded to Chiengmai.

* The phenomenon known as ปรากฏการณ์ i. e. sea-air.

On Sunday the 4th of the 9th waxing moon the army of the King left Chiengmai, and arrived in Kampengphet on Thursday the 15th day of the 9th waxing moon, from where he returned to Ayuddhya.

288. In Ayuddhya a large fire had broken out on Wednesday the 4th of the 3rd waxing moon, and it lasted for three days before it could be extinguished.

According to official records 10,050 houses were burnt down.

On Sunday the 11th of the 2nd waxing moon the Somdet Phra Jayarājādhirāj proceeded to Chiengmai; he appointed Phraya Phitsnulok commander of the vanguard who was to proceed with the King's army to Kampengphet. There it remained for one month, and on Thursday the sixth of the 3rd waxing moon the King established his headquarters there, and on Sunday the ninth of the third waxing moon the King proceeded with his army to Chiengmai,

On Tuesday the 3rd of the 4th waxing moon he conquered Muang Lamphun Jai.

On Friday the 13th of the 4th waxing moon there was a strange portent, as blood was seen on the doors of all places, houses and temples inside and outside the town. On Monday the 15th of the 4th waxing moon the King left Chiengmai with his army and returned to Ayuddhya.

289. In 908, the year of the horse, on the 6th month Somdet Phra Jayarājādhirāj died, and his son Somdet Phra Yot Fā succeeded him in Ayuddhya. At that time there was an earthquake.

290. In 910, the year of the monkey, on Saturday the fifth of the 5th waxing moon the King witnessed an elephant fight and the tusks of the elephant Phraya Fai were broken in three pieces. After two days the chief elephant Phraya Chaddanta uttered a noise like that produced by the sounding of a conch-shell. Furthermore there issued sounds from the Patu Bhaijant foreboding an event, and on Sunday the 5th of the 8th waxing moon an accident befell the King. The Khun Jinarāj took over the Government for 42 days, but an accident befell both him and one of the King's wives named Sri Sudāchandr. Somdet Phra Thienrājādhirāj assumed the throne and took the name of Somdet Phra Mahā Chakraphan. After he had been on the throne for seven months the King of Pegu, Pang Sevaki, appeared with his army before Ayuddhya in the 4th month. When Somdet Mahā Chakraphan proceeded to fight the Peguan army, the King's wife and daughter accompanied him riding on elephants. In

the fight the vanguard was defeated and in the King's army great confusion reigned. The Queen and her daughter fought with the enemies and they were killed seated on the elephants. Phra Mahadharmarājādhirāj and the King's son Phra Rāmesuan were taken to Pegu by the army, and the elephants Phraya Prap and Phraya Nuphāb were forwarded to Kampengphet for the King of Pegu, and then he allowed Phra Mahadharmarājādhirāj and Somdet Phra Rāmesuan to return to Ayuddhya.

In 911, in the year of the cock, on Saturday the 10th of the 2nd waxing moon a male white elephant was taken in the field of Tenasserim. It was about four soks high and received the name of Paccai-nagendr. At that time the first foundations for the walls of Ayuddhya were laid.

895. In 912, the year of the dog, on the 2nd of the waxing eighth month the King Somdet Phra Mahāchakraphan had the ceremony of a Pathamakamma (inauguration of Brahmins) performed at the place Thā Deng; Phra Karmavācā was teacher of unauspicious lore; Phra Bijettha was teacher of the eight requirements; Phra Indro was judge.

895. In 914, the year of the rat, the armed transport boats were changed into war boats, and the figures of the animals at the head of the boats were also changed.

In 915, the year of the bull, in the 7th month the Majjhimakamma (second step in the inauguration of Brahmins) was performed at Jainādburi.

897. In 916, the year of the tiger, the King proceeded to the Elephant enclosure at Bang Lamung, when in all 60 male and female elephants were caught. Furthermore in the 12th month a male white elephant was caught in the forest near Kānchanaburi. It was over four soks high and received the name of Phra Gajendradodom.

In 917, the year of the rabbit, on Monday the 7th of the 7th waning moon a white elephant was caught in the neighbourhood of Bejrpūri. It was 4 soks 1 khūb high, and received the name of Phra Kēo Song Bātr.

898. In 918, the year of the dragon, in the 12th month an army was prepared to proceed to Lavāk. The Phraya Ong Savankalok was chief of the King's army with 3(0,000) men, (Phra) Mahamontri was commander-in-chief and Phra Mahadeb had under him buffaloes and (carts to the extent of) - - - The boats were in charge of Phraya Yao.

At that time a great storm arose and the boats were not in time to proceed with the army. Phraya Rāmlaksna raised soldiers to attack the army in the night. He was, however, defeated by the chief army. At that time Phraya Ong Savaukalok died, and also many elephants, horses and soldiers.

899. In 919, the year of snake, on Sunday, 1st of the 4th waxing month, a large fire broke out in the palace. In the third month the ceremony of the installation of the priests took place, and also the Indra Bhisek (inauguration) took place for the new palace. In the 4th month the feast of the seven-fold great gifts took place; the King had made for the white elephant a silver stand with four feet worth 1,600 ticals and he bestowed seven lady attendants and seven carriages drawn by horses. In the seventh month the King proceeded to the Elephant enclosure at Trok Phra, where 60 male and female elephants were caught.

In 921, the year of the goat, the King proceeded to the Elephant enclosure at the place Sēntō, where 40 elephants were caught.

902. In 922, the year of the monkey, the King proceeded to the Elephant enclosure at Wat Kai, where he again caught 50 elephants. Furthermore on Saturday, the 8th of the 12th waning moon, a white elephant was caught. The eyes, however, had not the peculiar white colour, a baby elephant followed the mother.

906. In 923, the year of the cock, Phra Sri Sin was in the priesthood at Wat Mahādhātu. He escaped to the place Muang Mot Deng; there the chief priest of Wat Pākō gave him a favourable moment to enter the palace on Saturday, the 1st of the 9th waxing moon.

At that time Phraya Siha Rājdejo was under punishment and he informed Phra Sri Sin that after the wan phra he would be executed and he requested that auxiliaries should be raised before that time. Phra Sri Sin thereupon raised people and arrived in the Capital on Thursday, the 14th of the 8th waning moon in the evening. On the morning of the wan phra, Phra Sri Sin entered the palace, where he died.

When the complicity of the Phra Sangkharāt at Pā Keo became known, he also was executed.

In 924, the year of the dog, the King proceeded to the Elephant enclosure at Sai Yoi, when 70 male and female elephants were caught.

In 925, the year of the pig, Niphatr the King of Pegu raised an army in the 12th month. On Sunday, the 5th of the 2nd waning month, he conquered Phitsnulok. At that time there was a famine of rice and it was sold at the rate of 3 measures for one tical; many people also died of fever. The King of Pegu conquered all the Northern states and he then proceeded to Ayuddhya. Then the King of Ayuddhya asked for relations of friendship to be established, and the two Kings thereupon swore the oath of fidelity at Wat Phra Meru. The King of Pegu then asked that the King's son and four white elephants be sent to Pegu.

At that time the Sultan Phraya Tani assisted the King of Pegu, he being a traitor; he wanted his followers to enter the palace and he rode on the white elephant and stood in front of the parade ground. He then dismounted from the elephant and went in the direction of Talēng Kēng (execution ground). Thereupon the inhabitants of the capital, raising an alarm, fought the men of the Sultan of Tani and many of his people were killed. Phraya Tani was able to escape in a junk. In the same year the King of Lan Chang sent a letter asking for the Royal Princess Deva Krasatr in marriage, and the King was pleased to bestow her. At that time the Royal princess was ill and he then bestowed his daughter Phra Kēo Fā instead.

912. In 926, the year of the rat, the King of Lan Chang invited the Princess Phra Kēo Fā to return to Ayuddhya, saying that he had asked for the Princess Deva Krasatr, and the latter was then sent to him.

When the King of Pegu heard of these things he placed soldiers waiting in ambush, and Princess Deva Krasatr was kidnapped and presented to the King of Pegu.

913. In this year the water in the river at Ayuddhya was very low. In 930, the year of the dragon, in the 12th month, the King of Pegu proceeded from Pegu, and on Friday the 1st of the 1st waxing moon arrived before Ayuddhya, where he established his camp at Lom Phli. Whilst the enemy was surrounding Ayuddhya the King Somdet Phra Mahāchakraphan fell ill and died. At that time the Royal son Phra Mahindrādhirāj was negligent in defending the city, but Prince Sri Saova took it upon himself to defend the city. When this became known to Somdet Phra Mahindrādhirāj, he did not trust this Prince, and so he made him prisoner and had him executed at Wat Phra Rām.

915. From that time onward the defence of the capital got weaker and on Sunday the 11th of the 9th waxing moon in 931, the year of the snake, at about 6 o'clock Ayuddhya fell into the hands of the King of Pegu. On Friday the 6th day of the 12th waxing moon the Somdet Mahadharanarājādhirāj was crowned by right of conquest in Ayuddhya. When the King of Pegu returned to Pegu, he took with him the Somdet Phra Mahindrādhirāj.

919. In 932, the year of the horse, Phraya Lavēk raised an army to proceed to Ayuddhya. He established his headquarters at the place Sam Vihār. Fighting took place and the inhabitants of the capital came out to fight, and Phraya Champādhirāj was killed on his elephant.

Thereupon the Phraya Lavēk retired. In this year there was very high water in Ayuddhya.

920. In 933, the year of the goat, there was very little water. The Somdet Phra Nārāyana proceeded to reign in Phitsnulok.

In 934, the year of the monkey, the water was very low.

In 935, the year of the cock, the water was middling.

921. In 936, the year of the dog, the water was very high. The King's son was suffering from a pernicious fever.

921. In 937, the year of the pig, Phraya Lavēk came with war boats to Ayuddhya. On Saturday the 10th of the first waxing moon the people from Lavēk established themselves at Phaneng Xōng; in the battle which ensued the Cambodians were unable to offer effective resistance, and their army returned. Many people from Pak Tai were then made prisoners. In that year there was little water in Ayuddhya.

922. In 940, the year of the tiger, Phraya Lavēk raised an army to conquer Bejrapuri, but could not do so. The people from Lavēk then returned. At that time the Phraya Chīn Chantu escaped from Lavēk, and took refuge in Ayuddhya; afterwards he, however, ran away and returned to Lavēk.

924. In 942, the year of the dragon, the walls of Ayuddhya were pulled down and were re-erected near the river bank.

924. In 943, the year of the snake, Yana Prajien studied occult science and thought of a conspiracy and found many followers. He came to Lophburi and established his camp at Hua Tri. He was shot and killed by an alien. In that year a letter was received from Pegu stating that in the year of the snake there would be no leap year. In Siam there was, however, a leap year.

926. Furthermore on Saturday the 9th of the 2nd waxing month it became known that the King of Pegu had died. In the third month Phraya Lavēk raised an army to take the city of Bejrapuri and the city was conquered at that time.

In 944, the year of the horse, the Phraya Lavēk raised an army and he made prisoners of the people living near the Eastern frontier.

In 945, the year of the goat, a fire broke out starting from the residence of the Kalahom to the royal palace, and it spread towards the whole south of the city. A report was spread in that year that in Pegu preparations were being made to make a road to proceed to Ayuddhya.

927. In 946, the year of the monkey, King Nārāyana, who was reigning in Phitsnulok, was informed that the Kings of Pegu and Ava were at enmity, and he assisted the King of Pegu. On Thursday the 3rd of the waning fifth month the chief elephant Svasti Mongol and the chief elephant Kēo Chakkraratna were fighting with each other, and the left tusk of the elephant Svasti Mongol got loose. On this the soothsayers forbade the preparations for a war. His Majesty, however, had given orders for the execution of the preparations and he started on the campaign. On Wednesday the 9th of the 5th waning moon the King established his army at Wat Yom, south of Kam-pengphet. On that day there was an earthquake and he sent his army to Krēng, and from there the King's army returned to Ayuddhya. In Phitsnulok on Wednesday the 8th of the 10th waxing moon marvellous events happened, inasmuch as the Menam Sai in Phitsnulok rose over the banks of the river for three soks. Furthermore an apparition of a female form resembling an elephant was seen; it had the appearance of a trunk of an elephant; the ears were large and it was seen sitting at the temple Prasād in Phitsnulok. A large elephant was standing on the lawn and it suddenly died. Furthermore many locusts were seen rising in the air so that the sun was obscured by them.

In the same year the populations from the Northern provinces were transferred to Ayuddhya. In the same year the King of Pegu sent Prince Sāvathi and Phraya Phasim with an army to Ayuddhya, and on Wednesday the 2nd of the 2nd waxing moon at 2.5 p. m. the King established the army at the place Sām Khānon. At that time the army of the King of Pegu was defeated and fled. At that time a horse was born with one head but with two bodies; the feet were of a grey colour.

In 947, the year of the cock, King Sāvathi raised an army and established his headquarters at Saket, where he remained from the 2nd to the 4th month. On Wednesday the 7th of the 5th waxing moon, at 10.24 a.m., he established a camp at Lomphli and on Saturday the 10th of the 5th waxing moon he proceeded by boat on the road to Pā Mōk. At that time many pelicans were flying to the right and left before the King's boat, and on Thursday the 14th of the 5th waning moon the King on the male elephant Mangaladvib had all elephants and horses drawn up in line near the bank of the river. The sun protected him with a halo, and the rays were protecting the elephants.

At that time the army of King Sāvathi which was established at Saket was defeated. In the same year the Mahāuparāj came with people to Kampeng Phet, where they cultivated the fields.

3951.

In 948, the year of the dog, on Monday the 8th of the 12th waning moon, the King of Pegu Ngachisayang proceeded to the capital. On Thursday the 2nd of the 2nd waxing moon he arrived before the Capital and established his camp at Khanon Pāk Khū. The army of the Mahāuparāj was established at Khanon Bang Tanāo, and the enemy made preparations for surrounding the capital, and at that time constant fighting was going on. The King, on Monday the 14th of the 5th waxing moon 947, raised his army and proceeded by boat to attack the army of the Mahāuparāj established at Khanon Bang Tanāo. It retired to Bang Kradān on Friday the 10th of the 6th waning moon, the King defeated the army of the Mahāuparāj at Bang Kradān again and it was scattered. On Thursday 1st of the 7th waxing moon the King established his camp at Wat Dēj, and entrenched it. On Thursday the 8th of the 7th waxing moon he put guns on the junks and bombarded the camp of the King of Pegu, who could not resist and retired to Pā-mōk Yai. On Monday the 10th of the 4th waxing moon the King attacked the enemies, who were then defeated, and he drove them back, armed with a sword, towards their camp. On Tuesday the 10th of the 4th waning moon the King established his camp in an ambush at Lomphli, and entered into a battle with the enemy. The battle was carried on with great courage, the King fought on horseback, and many soldiers were killed by his own sword. The soldiers were defeated and returned to the camp, to which they were pursued.

On Monday the 10th of the third waning moon, at 7 a.m., the King attacked the army of Phraya Nakhon, which was established at Paknam Muthulao. At that time he attacked the camp from

which the enemy fled after a great loss. The king of Pegu then disbanded his army and retired, when Phraya Lavëk established himself at Bāng Sai. At that time the King collected his whole army at Bāng Kradān, and on Thursday the 1st of the 3rd waxing moon, at the auspicious moment, he proceeded from Bāng Kradān and established his headquarters at Sai Khitang, and from there he proceeded to Lavëk. At that time the King captured many elephants and horses, and many people were made prisoners.

In 950, the year of the rat, on Monday the 8th of the 12th waning moon there was an earthquake.

In 951, the year of the bull, rice was at famine prices and was sold at the rate of 10 tamliang for a cartload, which had to show the official seal of the Phraya Nārāyana. On Friday the 7th of the 2nd waning moon there was an earthquake.

240.

In 952, the year of the tiger, on Sunday the 13th of the 8th waning moon, Somdet Phra Vriddharāj died, and on Tuesday the 2nd of the 12th waning moon the Mahāuparāj raised troops and came by way of Kānchanaburi. At that time Phraya Phasim was made prisoner at Tukhē Sāmphan.

241.

In 954, the year of the dragon, on Friday the 2nd of the 12th waxing moon the Uparāj came from Pegu. On Saturday the 1st of the 1st waning moon the palate of the chief elephant Phraya Jayanubhāb prolapsed about 5 inches. In the second month the Mahāuparāj arrived at the frontier of Suphanburi and established his camp at Phang Tru. On Sunday the 9th of the 2nd waxing moon, at 10.12, the King came by water with his army and celebrated the ceremony of the consecration of arms at Lomphli and established his camp at Muang Wān, and on Wednesday the 12th of the 2nd waxing moon, at 8.51 a. m., the King proceeded on land. About dawn on the 12th day the relics of the Buddha were seen to be floating in the way the King took. On Monday the 2nd of the 2nd waning moon, at 11.18, the King rode on his chief elephant Phraya Jayanubhāb and fought with the Mahāuparāj at Nong Sārai. That was not done exactly at the auspicious moment. Whilst the elephant fight was going on with the Mahāuparāj, the King Phra Nārāyana was slightly wounded in the right arm. Further the Mahāuparāj came out riding on his elephant and his hat fell off; but he was able to put it on again, and then he died on his elephant. The chief elephant

Phraya Jayanubhāb, on which the King had ridden, received the title of Chao Phraya Prāb Hongsa (most excellent conquerer of Pegu.)

946. In 955, the year of the snake, on Monday the 5th of the 10th waxing moon the King inaugurated his palace. He was at that time angry with the Peguans, and about 100 of them were burnt. On Friday the 10th of the 2nd waxing moon, at 9.36, the King proceeded to the conquest of Lavēk and established his headquarters at Bāng Khuēt. On Sunday the first of the 10th waxing moon Phraya Sri Suphan was made prisoner.

In 956, the year of the horse, the King raised an army and proceeded to Satōng. On Sunday the 3rd of the 1st waxing moon in the year of the goat 957, the King proceeded to Hongsa. Before that time the ceremony of consecrating the arms was performed at Lomphli, and the camp was established at Muang Wān. On Monday the 13th of the fourth waxing moon, at 12 midday, as he could not conquer Hongsa, the King's army returned.

In 958, the year of the monkey, on Tuesday the 4th of the 6th waxing moon the Laosians fled. Khun Chā Mūang fought them at Takhien Duen. On Thursday the 6th of the 3rd waxing moon rain was falling for three days constantly, as if it were the rainy season.

949. On Thursday the 11th day of the 11th waxing moon, at 8.48 a.m., in 961, in the year of the pig, the King proceeded with an army to Tong Ū, and celebrated the ceremony of consecrating the arms at Lomphli, and established his army at Wat Tān. In the 11th month, when the sun was standing between Virgo and Libra, on Wednesday the 10th of the 4th waxing moon, the King reached Tong Ū, and he established his army about 30 sen from Tong Ū. After the army had been there for two months, a famine broke out and many people died for want of food. On Wednesday the 6th of the 6th waning moon the army of the King returned to Ayuddhya.

In 963, the year of the bull, in the seventh month there was an eclipse of the sun.

In that year statues of Siva and Nārāyana were received, and on one and the same day homage was paid to the four statues [of the Brahmanic gods] by being carried in procession.

In 964, the year of the tiger, the King went for pleasure to Lophburi, and in 965, the year of the rabbit, the army of the Vanguard was able to take Cambodia.

954. In 966, the year of the dragon, on Thursday the 6th of the 2nd waning moon the King proceeded from Pā Mok by water and performed the ceremony of consecrating the arms at the place Ekarāj and established his army at Phra Lo. That day was very warm and it was one when Saturn was proceeding one degree to the sign of Sagittarius. At that time the King made a journey and arrived at the capital city at Thung Don Kéo. - - - - -



NOTE.

Whilst this work was in the press, H. R. H. the Prince of Lophburi, who was in the Northern Provinces on inspection duty, forwarded a copy of a stone inscription which he found in front of a hall at Wat Chulāmani in Phitsnulok, showing a facsimile of the footprint of the Buddha. A translation of the inscription is printed herewith as an appendix to this history as it agrees with the facts recorded therein.

In the year of the monkey, 826, during the reign of His Majesty Phra Rāmādhībodī Sī Parama Trailokanārth, He ordered the temple Chulāmani to be built with a view of entering it as a priest. At that time there were three Sovereign Kings, viz:—Phraya Lān Chāng, the Mahārāj Phraya Chiengmai and Phraya Hongsavadi who as an act of piety presented gifts.

In the year of the cock, 827, on Thursday the 14th day of the 8th waxing moon, His Majesty Phra Rāmādhībodī Sī Paramatrailokanārth entered the priesthood, and after the Royal son had paid obeisance to him, he ascended the Royal palanquin. He then arranged for the entering of the priesthood of five of his retainers, and afterwards he arrayed himself in priestly garments and at the same time 2,348 persons entered the priesthood with him. His Majesty remained in the priesthood for 8 months and 15 days. In the fifth month His Royal son and all officers of state invited him to leave the priesthood so that he might govern over his people. His Majesty left the priesthood and proceeded to Ayuddhya.

When 10 months 5 days and 2222 years of the Buddha era had elapsed (Ch. 1042) at 11 o'clock in the forenoon Hluang Siddhi, the Royal Page, received His Majesty's command, and Hmun Rājsanghakārī got written instructions and cloth to be given to the Phra Gurū Dharmatrailokanārth Rājamuni Sīla visuddhācāraya, the head priest of Wat Chulāmani, for making an impression of the footprint, which according to His Majesty's orders should be kept in Wat Chulāmani as an object of worship for Samana Brahmans and people who had not worshipped the footprint. His Majesty then commanded to have a stone inscription made to show the history,

the ordinances and the amount of land, the temple servants of Chulamāni who were to watch over the impression of the footprint and the hair relics of the King.

On Friday, the first of the waxing moon in the year of the cock, 1043, at the auspicious moment (about 10 a.m.), the stone was placed in position.

After the ordinances had been examined they were sealed with a seal of a man holding the book of Phra Srī Surendrādhībodī Abhaibiriyā Brahmadeb rājāmatyādhībodī Srī Kalā Samud Samuh Phra Surasvatī, which they placed on the written characters. On the 11th day of the 1st waxing moon of the year of the cock, the third of the decade, His Most Excellent Majesty Phra Srī Samphet Phra Rāmādhībodī Srisindraparama mahācakrvatti isvara rājādhirāj Rāmesuen dharmikarāj dejojay paramadevādidev Srī bhuvanādhipesra lokajettha visuddhi makut buddhānkūr paramacakrvatti isvara dharmikarājādhirāj was in the palace of Srī Suriya amarindraj to the north when the Phra Bimal dharm anantāna suddh utam rājkravī srī saṅgha parināyok tipitak dhara vara nāna gambhisadharma rāj munī pabitr addressed His Majesty saying Phitsnulok had formerly laud and temple servants, now all the servants are scattered about and the priests ought - - - - - as the eighteen men were servants of the Wat Chulāmani - - - - - and if any one should afterwards engage these 18 servants who were destined to be temple servants, and thus have Government duties ascribed to them - - - - - the persons doing so will entail eternal punishment and they will not see the Buddha, the law, the congregation for ever and ever.



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Some Remarks on Kaempfer's Description of Siam, 1690.

“People living in glass houses should not throw stones” is a very old saying. Few of us can boast of a handwriting which is such that a person not knowing the language in which we write, will be able to read and pronounce it correctly, even if he knows the value of the written signs. We should be well able to pronounce correctly any text in a language unknown to us, if printed or written clearly in characters the value of which is known to us, although we do not know the meaning of the words. If we communicate our thoughts in writing to others we communicate them in sentences, and not in single words, and consequently, even if our writing is not very distinct, the person receiving it, will be able to gather our meaning from the context, although we do not cross our ‘t,’ or put the dot on the ‘i’ in the wrong place. This of course is commonplace. These slight omissions are, however, a fruitful source of Hobson-Jobsonism, if we want to give the pronunciation of a word in a foreign language. Few of the ancient or modern travellers cared to learn the language of the countries which they visited and described; when they heard a word or the name of a place pronounced which was of sufficient interest to them, they noted down what they believed they had heard. The diary or the notes were not very carefully written, and in transcribing their text, our travellers, drew on their imagination, and we get names of places the explanation of which must tax our ingenuity. We find for instance in ancient maps of Siam the point of Cin. It is also called Kni, and it is not difficult to see that the name should have been spelt Kui. The ‘i’ was pointed in the wrong place, ‘u’ mistaken for ‘n,’ and hence the confusion. Bowring gives the name of the third month in Siamese as ‘sain’; what he mean was ‘sam’; it is a case of careless handwriting and bad punctuation, just as Morgen for

Mergui. Another fruitful source of misunderstanding is, when the traveller is told the meaning of a word and in editing his note-book believes he has a genuine word in a foreign language. We have thus a Paklat belo (*i. e.* below) where below is the translation of lang (lower), in contradistinction to Paklat bon, the Upper Paklat.

Now one of the best observers of foreign countries is the well known Engelbert Kaempfer, the Physician to the Dutch Embassy to the Emperor of Japan's Court, whose history of Japan together with a description of the Kingdom of Siam, 1690-1692, still hold its own. Before starting on his voyage to Japan he visited Siam with the Dutch Embassy, and we owe to him an exceedingly interesting and on the whole exact description of Siam, as it was in the first year of the reign of Phra Phetraxa. The information he records was given to him by the members of the Dutch factory, who, we may suppose, were at that time *persona grata* at Court. Now Kaempfer gives us in his report of Siam names of places which he passed and the names of persons with whom he became acquainted. Most of them look like Siamese words somewhat gone astray, and it requires in most cases but little reflection to correct them, as we would correct printers' errors. In the reprint of Kaempfer's work issued by MacLehose, that has not been done, and it may not be considered an ungrateful task and a tribute to his memory, if we fulfil this posthumous office. Most of the mistakes are due to a careless handwriting, aggravated by the fact that the work was issued and translated after his death from his German manuscript. He had an untrained ear, which did not distinguish between mutes and aspirates, and to which many vowels sounded alike. Kaempfer of course did not know Siamese, and the Dutch who gave him information gave it to him in bazaar Siamese.

Now the first man who supplied the Dutch on their voyage with information was one called Monproncena, a merchant of Siam. His real title is Mūn Phrom Sena, and he was one of the King's factors. The Pāli title is Brahmasena. He gave the name of the largest of the rocks and small islands as Samajotn *i. e.*, สามร้อยยอด, Sam Roi Yot, the three hundred mountains. The several rocks and islands which we

saw on our Larboard, he called Pran or Prani, *i. e.*, ปราณบุรี Pran. Next, he said, followed Czam or Ceam, which is Cham as marked on Bowring's map, from which a direct road led to Mergui; then further, going up, Putprie, *i. e.*, the popular pronunciation of Pexaburi, *i. e.*, Phritphri; then Isan, *i. e.*, Yisan, ยี่สาร; then Maya Klon, which is of course แม่นกหลง, Me Khlong; then Satzyin, *i. e.*, Tha Chin (ท่าจีน); then the mouth of the river Meinam, แม่น้ำ (i. e. the river) which in the language of Siam is called Pagnam Taupia, Paknam Chao Phraya.

Kaempfer arrived at the Dutch factory called Amsterdam, near the present Paklat. He then went to Bangkok, and afterwards arrived at Judia, *i. e.*, Ayuddhya. He had an audience with the Berklan Chancellor of Siam, who has also the direction of Foreign affairs, *i. e.*, the Phra Khlang (พระคลัง), the keeper of the Treasury, and as such Minister for Foreign Affairs. It would appear from this statement, that as reward for the services rendered to the King in the troubles after the death of Phra Narai the Minister was raised to this position which is generally divided between the chiefs of the Civil and Military Administration. We know from other sources that Nai Pān was the Ambassador of King Narai to France under the title of Phya Visutr and assisted Phra Phetraxa in his negotiations with the French garrison under La Farge.—

“The day of the audience there came over to our factory four Operas or Mandarins of the second rank.” The title is พระ, Phra, and อก, ok, is the epitheton ornans corresponding to the present คุณ for Guṇa, honour.

The names of these Mandarins (to employ this word which corresponds to Skr. Mantrin, Councillor, adviser) were Opera Tsijat (พระศรียศ), Sriyot, an officer of the Treasury. With him came the official described as the Siabander, *i. e.*, the Malay title of the Harbour Master. “Before sate the Mandarins as Oja Tewejaata, a Mahomedan set over the Quarry of the King's elephants.” This is

the title of the official in charge of the King's elephants viz.,
พระเทพราชวิมล.

Bad handwriting and indistinct hearing converted the title to its present form. It is the title which the King himself held in the reign of his predecessor, Phra Narai.

Oja Pipat is of course พระยาพิพัฒน์ โภช. He is described as the Deputy Berkham. We say to-day Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Kaempfer states in another place that he was formerly "a domestic of Faulcon, of whom he learnt the skill of pinching strangers."

In the second chapter Kaempfer deals with the state of the Government of Siam. The Tsiau Fa, i. e., เจ้าฟ้า, or Sovereign, is the supreme (heavenly) prince. The King is otherwise called จุฬหลวง and it is only in the reign of King Mongkut that, on the analogy of ไบบาน, nai ban, as chief of the household, the word จุฬหลวง. Nai Hluang, as chief of the State, was formed. The name of the King, Phetraatia, is a very near approach to เพตราฐ, Phetraxa. He succeeded to the throne on the death of Pro Narees Naraye pintsiau, i. e., พระนเรศ พระนารายณ์เป็นเจ้า

Kaempfer gives then the history of the conspirator as he calls Faulcon. The story is such as was current amongst the Dutch who had necessarily viewed the advent of the French with some misgivings. Monpi Tatso, described as the King's son-in-law and by him adopted, is หม่อมปัยยทิศ alias ปัยยทิศ (Pijathot, Aphaithot). It must be mentioned that Kaempfer in recording the dates makes a mistake of one year inasmuch as the events took place in 1688, as witness the report of the French writers, and not as he states in 1689. One of the names of places he mentions in this case is Livo, which is, of course, Louvo, the present Lophburi, and the temple Wathniakprani Waan is วัดมหาพระนิพพาน, the temple dedicated to the memory of the Nirvāna of the Buddha.

Kaempfer in recording the death of Phra Narai's brothers recalls the violent death of the King's uncle in October, 1656. He calls him Pracitama Ratia, which is พระศรีสุธรรมราชา, Phra Srisudhar-marāja.

"In this manner Petraatia got possession of the administration, with the title of the King of Siam Tanassari Sucketa and Poiseluke as also protector of Cambodia Jehoor Patany and Queda."

The title is clear, viz, Tenasserim, which up to 1767 formed part of the Kingdom of Siam, Sukhothai, Phitsnulok, Johor, Patani, and Keda.

"By virtue of the ancient Laws of Siam upon the demise of the King, the crown devolves on his brother, and upon the brother's death, if there be none, on the eldest son."

Now the succession to the throne is regulated by the Law of 1360, according to which the eldest son of the Queen shall have precedence over all other Members of the Royal family. It is foreign to the purpose of the paper to show under what circumstances the law was apparently violated. It will be found that it was the case when the heir apparent was of tender years and it was necessary to put a stronger man at the head of affairs. It was then that the King's brother became Heir presumptive. The office held was designated by the name of Wang Na, the Palace of the vanguard, wrongly translated Second King.

In Kaempfer's time this position was held by Peja Surasak, also called Peja Wania and Fai Wani, i. e., the Phra Mahauparaj Sarasakdi, the Wang Na, Fai Na. He is frequently mentioned in the Phongsavadan as Nai Madua. He is said to have been the son of King Narai by a Laosian. His mother was given in marriage to Phra Phetraxa, by whom he was adopted. It is known that the quarrels he had with Faulcon led finally to the overthrow of Faulcon. He was heir apparent and succeeded to the throne on the death of Phra Phetraxa, and Kaempfer rightly states that he had charge of all crown affairs. We have already mentioned the Peja Phraklan. Peja Wan is the พระยาวัง (the Minister of the Household) and his title "Thao Peja Taramasa" is Chao Phraya Dharma. He is one of the four supports of the States the Chatustambha, just

as the Peja Jummaraj. He is described as Chinese and as being Chief Justice. The title is พระยาหมวราช and he is in charge of the Capital both for civil and criminal affairs, and has been so up to the reform of the Law Courts in 1893.

Peja Poletheb, whom Van Vliet calls Oya Poeletip, is พระยาพลเทพ and his position among the four supports of the State is that of Receiver General, and he held the administration of the Crown Lands and their revenue. The present office is of course that of Ministry for Agriculture and Trade.

The Peja Tsakri is พระยาจักรี, who in former reigns divided with Peja Kalahom, พระยาตากโหม, the administration of the provinces, the Chakri being in charge of the Civil, and the Kalahom of the Military administration. These formed together the Great Council of State.

We have already referred to some of the minor officials, as Kaempfer calls them. Oja Tamam, Captain of the guards, is ขอกษัตริย์, his proper title is Captain of the sea forces, and Oja De Tsiu is พระยาเดโช, Captain of the land forces (General).

The other remarks Kaempfer makes of the official hierarchy are correct: there are no hereditary family names, great men are called after their employment. And he is also right in the order of the dignities, Peja and Oja, Opera, Oluang, Okucen, i. e., ขอกษัตริย์, and Omucen, i. e., ขอกหม่อม. Peja and Oja are described as princes. That must be taken with a certain restriction. They are the highest titles in the official hierarchy, and as such rank after the Prince. In Kaempfer's time a new dynasty had just come to the throne and no princes of the blood were recognised.

Kaempfer says that the Kingdom of Siam, is by the nations called Muan Thai i. e. เมืองไทย. "In their books it is sounded with this epithet, Krom Thep Pramma haa Ikoon (Circuitus visitationis Deorum), the Circuit of the visitations of the Gods." This is a pretty free translation for Krung Deb Mahanagara, which simply means the excellent capital or the great city, or with its full title "Dvarayadi," the city with many gates. King Mongkut in an

article reproduced in the Bangkok Calendar for 1871 says: "The city is now called Krung Deb Mahanagara only from the custom of so calling the northern capitals. Any city becoming the capital of the Kingdom was thus named. So it was in regard to the Capital of Chao U Thong, which is now denominated Khi Pom, it was anciently Krung Deb Mahanagara, which being translated into Siamese, would be the great city or the Royal city where the Lord of the great city resides. But if the word Krung be translated strictly according to the original it means river. Hence whoever was Lord of the river from its mouth to its source, that man was called Chao Krung, Lord of the river, and the city which he made his residence was denominated Krung."

We can pass over his remarks about the name of the country as Tziam. Much has been written about it, and reference can be made to the Chinese name of Siam as Siemlo.

In the description of Laos it requires not much acumen to see that Landjam and Tsamaja are Lanxang and Chiengmai. The description of Laos is accurate and it has already been pointed out that both Lao and Siamese belong to the Thai race, whose manners customs and language are practically identical and that consequently to make a distinction between them is to make a distinction without a difference.

In the Introduction, the editor of Kaempfer's work has already pointed out that the author repeats himself now and then. So after a description of Laos he returns to Ayuddhya and once more gives some details. He speaks about temples and palaces, and it is not difficult to identify the names by which the Buddha was known, Prah, Prah Pudi Djiau, Sammana Khodom as พระ, พระพุทธเจ้า, สมณโคตม.

He mentioned in this connection the temple called in the Peguan Language "Tsianpnum Tsiun,"—what Kaempfer wanted to record in his pronunciation was Tsiou Panum Tsiun, viz:—Chao Phauam Xōng, an ancient temple of which mention is already made in A. D. 1269.

We can easily identify also Prahkdi, Pratsiebi as พระเจ้า, Phra Pran as พระปราน, and in Pkka thon and Puka

the meaning attached to them according to astrological notions current in his days, and it may be mentioned in this respect that according to these astrological notions, Sunday is the day of the King, Monday of the Queen, Tuesday of the two chief Ministers, Wednesday of the people, Thursday of the learned, Friday of the Treasurer, Saturday of the city, i. e., they are considered propitious days for commencing any work. In Wan Alit we should read Wan Athit, a question of crossing the "t".

In enumerating the festivals he speaks of the Kitimbae and Kitinam, which are of course Kathin bok and Kathin nam festivals, at which the King bestowed garments on the priests. We learn from him that at Kathin bok the King proceeded to the temple Naphetat. In a Singhalese description the temple is called Napatan where the final "t" was misread for "n." It is of course the Wat Na Phra Dhātu, the temple where some of the relics of the Buddha are kept. Kaempfer mentions besides the festival of the Kaupasa, and oppasa; they are the Kao vasa and ok vasa, the entering and leaving the priesthood for a season during the Buddhist lent. He also mentions the festival Sahut soian, which he describes as the festival of washing the elephant.

This festival is called ศุภเทษวัน. Indistinct writing coupled with faulty audition produced this form. The celebration of the festival has been given up in this reign.

He devotes his last remarks to the coinage of Siam. He seems to have been fond of closing his words with flourishing lines. For only so can we account for Tsiani, i. e., Xang, Tamluni for Tamlung. He also names the Tikal called Baat บาท, and gives the name of Salung as slini. He calls it Maas, and this seems to be a Dutch word. It is no longer used, but it is of frequent occurrence in descriptions of Siam of the 17th Century. He goes somewhat astray in the spelling of the subsidiary coinage; still we can recognise in Siampai, songpai, and Pynini is clearly phainting.

It contains an uncertain number of the Bija ^๕เบี้ย "by us called cowers" (cowries). He concludes with the statement that 500-800 cowries are equal to a Ftiang, which he tells us the Siamese pronounce Phuani or Pujang, and that all the silver money of Siam is coined of Dutch crowns, which are for this purpose coined in Holland and imported by

the Dutch East India Company at seven shillings the crown. We have of course not been able to identify all words given by our author, and in correcting his proof-sheets we should have in some instances been compelled to send them back with a query. As conscientious proof readers we might have given our reading and thus explained Tsian Krue as Chao Khun and even Tsiant Tsiam, as Thai Thao, for these were, as they are now, the forms of address without any epitheton ornans.



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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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